New Republic

JANUARY 10, 1949

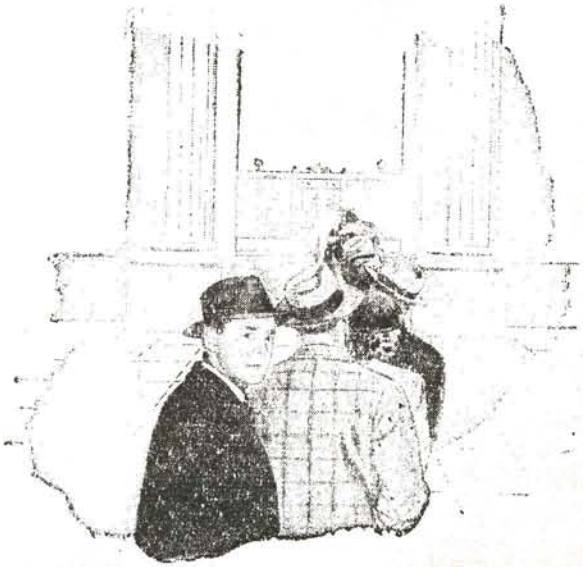
A SPECIAL 24-PAGE SECTION WITH THIS ISSUE:

STATE of the UNION

★

A PROGRAM FOR LIBERAL AMERICA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THIS IS HARD

BUT THIS IS EASY

AND THIS IS MIGHTY WONDERFUL

SURE, you believe in saving.

But it's mighty hard to make yourself take cash out of your pocket, and time out of your day, to do it regularly.

The sure way, the *easy* way to do your saving is to get started on an *automatic* savings plan with U. S. Savings Bonds. Like this . . .

1. **If you're on a payroll,** sign up in the Payroll Savings Plan, then forget it. From then on the money saves itself—so much per week, or so much per month.

2. **If you're not on a payroll,** sign up at your bank for the Bond-A-Month Plan. Equally easy. You decide how much you want to put into bonds every month, your bank does the rest.

In just ten years after you start buying bonds, your money starts coming back to you—well-fattened! Every $3 you invest today brings you back $4 to make possible all the wonderful things you dream of doing.

And remember—any time you need your money for emergencies, you can get it back in minutes, without

Automatic saving is sure saving—U.S. Savings Bonds

Contributed by this magazine in co-operation with the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

CONTENTS FOR JAN. 10, 1949

SECTION ONE

5 Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Report from the Brass
7 "Americus" and the Kremlin
7 The Black Day—MacLeish
8 A New Trust Buster
9 Outside America
11 Artists and Bureaucrats
14 *Left of Center*
15 Books
19 Theatre
20 Music
22 Radio
23 Movies

SECTION TWO

A Special Section on:
State of the Union

MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Willard Shelton, Gus Tyler, J. Raymond Walsh, Harold Wolff

ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Percy Winner

WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman. Helen Fuller (Political Editor)

DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Harold Clurman (Theatre)

ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Josephine Murray

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

RESEARCH: Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant

ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Walter F. Grueninger

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1949, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

SIGNS MULTIPLY that President Truman is going to have the gol-durndest inaugural you ever saw. We don't mean the knotty-pine grandstands now cluttering the streets, or the plans for a festive line of Democratic floats. These impedimenta normally invite rain, snow, hail and earth tremors for the quadrennial mid-winter orgies. The fact is that the attraction this year is Truman himself. Momentarily he's the national wonder man. Mention his name and it brings appreciative grins from taxi-drivers to college presidents. He's the "little guy they couldn't lick." He's in some danger of becoming a folk myth.

The lavish inaugural ceremony, to everyone's delight, is being done with Republican money. The economy-minded 80th Congress, sensing GOP victory, voted a whacking big sum to finance the Grand Comeback. It put it in the hands of Senator "Curley" Brooks (R, Ill.), the Chicago *Tribune's* protégé. The vast "Brooks Amphitheatre," as it is now lovingly known throughout Washington, has been erected on the Capitol Plaza. We forecast a huge crowd if the elements are propitious. Everyone seems to want to see Truman personally to make sure he's real.

We have received a little note addressed "To You as a Militant Republican" from Chairman Hugh Scott, of the GOP National Committee, asking for funds and advice. There's a post-election GOP debt of $330,000, it seems. But above all, what the committee really wants is comment and advice from us, it says, on such matters as "Where was our Party effective, and where did our Party fail?" A blank sheet is thoughtfully enclosed for "comment and recommendations." All right, Hugh, if you put it like that to us, man to man. We think that if you could in some way bring the GOP National Committee up from the McKinley model to the Hoover era, say, it would be a good start. And we hate to say it, but we can think of no better way of ensuring another GOP defeat in 1952 than to retain the present Taft-Wherry leadership in the Senate.

A year ago, Truman's State of the Union message denounced "concentration of economic power and other elements of monopoly." Truman knew that the 80th Congress wouldn't pay any attention to him, so the real target for his message was the people. Today things are different. The new Congress will listen, for a time at least.

The growth of monopoly is just as real today, too. Here, for example, is what the Republican House Committee on Small Business said last week in its final report. It offered tobacco as a sample. The tobacco "trust" was dissolved in 1911 under a Sherman Act proceeding. By 1940 each of the tobacco "Big Three" (American with Lucky Strikes; Liggett & Myers with Chesterfields; Reynolds with Camels) was by itself bigger than the whole trust in 1911. So in 1940, the government acted again; it brought a criminal prosecution which resulted in convictions and fines; also another resounding denunciation of the trust from the Supreme Court (as in 1911).

"However," says the new report, "since the recent convictions, the Big Three companies have conducted their businesses without substantial changes. . . . They have greatly strengthened their monopoly control to the point where they have 86 percent of the cigarette business compared with less than 68 percent only eight years ago." Is it wise, asks the committee, to leave a business with $3 billion of annual sales in the hands of three companies?

The Federal Reserve Board is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Faith—*and Action!*

Society exists for the protection of the individual.

Given a fair chance, he will achieve goodness, wisdom, and freedom.

That faith is the *New Republic's,* not merely at the turn of the year—but ALWAYS. Moreover, it forms the keystone of the democratic way of life.

No matter how deadly our armaments, how nearly impregnable our defenses—no matter how widespread our material satisfactions—if we lose that faith our democracy sags.

For a third of a century, *New Republic* has fought to strengthen our democracy and to arouse citizens into doing something more about their responsibilities.

Our weekly account of what is happening consists of material selected for *significance.*

The trivial and the transitory we omit.

In our pages you will find a continuing story of events as interpreted—and as influenced—by the ablest intellects of today.

If you are satisfied with the status quo—

If you believe that mankind is incorrigible and incapable—

If you are sure that force rules the world and always will—

If your mind is closed to the challenge of new ideas—

Then the *New Republic* is not for you.

But if, on the contrary, you believe in the Promise of American Life as we do—join the ranks of those who think things can be better, and propose to do something about it. Read *New Republic* every week!

New Republic

poking and prodding the fabulous Giannini Transamerica corporation to see what makes it tick. This is the hearing where Marriner Eccles is going to bat, stepping down from the Board to act as witness against the corporation. Banks, you see, are prohibited from engaging in outside enterprises, but not bank holding companies. It is one of those engaging twists that give a fantastic and lyrical quality to so many Washington affairs.

Eleven bank holding companies now aggregate $14 billion of resources, it develops, with 800 outlets in 20 states. The Transamerica aggregates $7.4 billion—which is quite a chunk. It is still growing and gobbling up independent banks. This streamlined monster now engages through affiliates in banking, home financing, real estate, fishing, processing and canning of sea food, various kinds of insurance, aircraft manufacture, engine making, oil-well equipment and assorted projects.

Notes. Under the preposterous "seniority rule," Flatbush Representative Somers (D, N. Y.) will head the crucial House Public Lands Committee, of key concern to the West. Somers has never taken the slightest interest in reclamation, irrigation or water power, and has come to the job simply by longevity. . . . A group of distinguished Chicagoans has offered Senator-elect Paul Douglas a non-political five-man slate of able, top-ranking jurists to help in filling two vacancies in the Federal Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals. Political bosses have their own patronage ideas for these key posts, and it presents a sharp test for the new Senator right at the start. . . . We welcome the decision of our young contemporary, the *New Yorker* magazine, to include a "Washington letter" in its extended coverage. The first one, by Richard H. Rovere, was excellent. . . . The Mundt-Nixon proposals to "reform" the Un-American Activities Committee were really whitewash. If continued, the committee should be made a joint affair with the Senate and the entire present membership should be dropped.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 120, NUMBER 2, ISSUE 1780, NEW YORK CITY, JANUARY 10, 1949 **New Republic**

HAPPY NEW YEAR!

STUFFED WITH TURKEY and good cheer, we closed our Washington office early on the last day of 1948. "Girls!" cried our youngest editor, as he kissed each smiling cheek, "It's been a great year! The age of miracles has returned; the twentieth century is here to stay; Truman's in the White House; all's well with the world!" So, bearing tidings of comfort and joy, he set out to wish the great and the good a Happy New Year.

He strode first up Sixteenth Street, slipped in the Chancery entrance of the Soviet Embassy, ducked past two uniformed guards and a statue of Lenin, and came upon the press attaché, who was dictating a translation of a New Year's Order of the Day to the Artillerymen of the Glorious Red Army.

"Happy New Year!" cried the youngest editor.

"Foolish liberal!" replied the attaché. "For what do you feel happy? Do you think you have accomplished something perhaps with your recent election? Nothing is altered. Your reforms are without significance. Your state power remains in the same hands. Your bipartisan program of world expansion continues. We shall continue to combat it until it collapses. *Redouble your massed firepower!*" he read, returning to his translation.

The youngest editor drove across the Memorial Bridge to where the 10,000 lighted cells of the Pentagon glared into the night. In one of these cells he found a physicist explaining three charts to a general. "This," the physicist was saying, "is the destructive potential of the old atomic bomb. Silly, isn't it? Now this one . . ." The youngest editor interrupted to bring his glad tidings.

"Happy New Year," he murmured.

"Poor little liberal!" the general sighed, "still fighting for your shrinking plot of civil power; still struggling to elect another congressman or two while we and industry together run the government and the nation. Make the most of what's left when we get through with the budget. Enjoy your last little fling at reform while you can. Just don't get in our way."

"Now this one," the physicist repeated, "is our new dispersed radioactive fission weapon. And here is our unreacted . . ."

JEROME SNYDER

The youngest editor walked slowly across the marble floor of the Senate Office Building. He pushed open a Southerner's gold-plated door.

"Happy New Year," he muttered.

"Same old liberal," the Southerner grinned. "Why, son, they tell me you're fixin' to send some little old bills up to us according to some mandate of the majority. Don't you know better than that?

"The minority has always run this country and it always will. Suppose we allow a few of your bills to go through? Before we get done a-huntin' and a-purgin' there isn't going to be an honest man left in government to enforce 'em!" His laughter echoed down the long corridors.

The youngest editor went to the home of the Old Timer. "Old Timer," he said, "I've had a hard day." And then he told him what had happened.

"Happy New Year," he whispered.

"Dear young liberal," the Old Timer smiled. "Haven't you been told that Americans are a conservative people? They worship the status quo until it collapses on them. They voted for Truman just because they don't want any changes made." He went back to reading Sokolsky.

The youngest editor slumped over the Press Club bar. "Happy New Year, one an' all," he mumbled, "even if you don't care about the election."

"Crazy liberal," said the reporter slouched beside him. "Nobody here ever heard of an election. There wasn't any. You've been dreaming again."

The youngest editor went off and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sat in a corner. And after a while he began to talk to himself.

"Just eight weeks ago," he said to himself, "you were sitting at a rally on election eve. And when Truman said he was going to win there was a cold silence. No one had the heart to applaud such empty rhetoric."

The youngest editor punched himself and said, "Remember? Don't sell the people short. The majority will is real and it's going to assert itself. Neither the press, nor the Southerners, nor the military, nor even the cold war can hold it back.

"It's true," he admitted to himself, "that Americans stand by what they know until it fails them. It failed in the depression and led to a lot of militancy and anger and demand for rapid change.

"We aren't moving in the wake of the collapse of the status quo today. This isn't a time for militancy and anger. But we're not conservative. Another impulse is pressing us forward instead. We can't label it. We can't tie it down. But it's here, shaking itself free of the past and looking around for the future.

"Maybe the President's spirit isn't radical, even though his program is. It doesn't need to be. Liberalism today," the youngest editor told himself, "is the prevailing faith, the settled region in politics, so respectable that a few old pioneers feel the urge to pull up stakes again and press on to a new frontier. But the gains of this program are solid, and its benefits are universal. This government is going to move in on the toughest interests in America this year, and it's going to do well.

"It's true that the press is against the program. Who cares? It may drag us from our task for a while, to run behind the wolf pack howling for the blood of a few poor victims. But when the fighting begins on real issues, we'll be back in place.

"It's true," he added, "that industry and the military have integrated their power and closed off a section of our economy. They brought us close to militarization last year, and closer to war, with their alarmist intelligence reports. We're going to have to reclaim their civil power and use them for our policies.

"It's true," the youngest editor decided, "that Russia is working for the downfall of democracy instead of encouraging its growth. It's true that, so far, she's refused to recognize the very real shift in power that's taken place in America. She's paying the price in isolation and poverty for a set of outworn prejudices. If Western Europe unites, and our Congress keeps its pledges, then there's going to be a major change in Soviet policy this year.

"For a long time now," the youngest editor concluded to himself, "we've given the millennium, or the apocalypse, four or five years at most; we've laid aside every idea and organization that couldn't achieve its end in a few months' time. The truth is that the cold war will go on for a generation at least, and that one life is a little space in the winning of a world society. But we're in step with the free world again, and we're moving ahead. As long as we love what we fight for and fight for what we love we'll be all right.

"Friends!" the youngest editor cried out, "it *was* a great year. And the best is still to come." M. S.

THE WEEK

REPORT FROM THE BRASS

THE Defense Secretary's first account of his stewardship has turned out to be an indictment both of the unification system, as it was timidly created by Congress, and of the armed services, which, two years later, are still feuding. Buried in the report was the striking information that Secretary Forrestal wants only the Defense Secretary to sit on the National Security Council with the President, the Secretary of State and the chairman of the National Security Resources Board, eliminating the Secretaries of Army, Navy and Air Force. Two years ago he was working strenuously to make military influence paramount. His views also have changed on some aspects of unification of the services. He has come out for delegation of great powers to the Defense Secretary and wants an Undersecretary to help him carry them out.

Forrestal asks the additional powers on the plea that unification is impossible without more authority. He also suggests reforming the setup of the Joint Chiefs by abolishing the post of the President's own Chief-of-Staff and by appointing one of the three remaining chiefs to speak for all the services. This would reduce inter-service rivalry in gaining access to the White House.

The report reiterated a demand for universal military training and for huge military appropriations. Though President Truman has put a $15 billion ceiling on the over-all military budget, Forrestal made plain that the Pentagon still wants at least $23 billion. The report is the opening shot of the military's campaign to get Congress, seemingly on its own initiative, to puncture Truman's budgetary ceiling. The campaign will get going in earnest when the service chiefs are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

called to testify before the Appropriations Committees in both House and Senate.

In all, the report was not a record of brilliant accomplishments. Its tone was apologetic for failure to make unification a reality. The President is known to be acutely aware of this failure. Recent visitors to the White House have come away predicting that there will be a new Secretary of Defense soon.

THE WIDE BLUE YONDER

The special uniform and insignia haven't been chosen yet nor the words and music written for the corps' song, but these are details. The important thing is that the Department of Defense is thinking about an "earth satellite vehicle program" and it is only a matter of time before we can expect to hear on the radio, between halves of the Army-Navy game:

"Young men! Are you tired of this dinky little planet? Do you want to visit those super-exotic areas outside the earth? And at the same time learn valuable skills such as maintenance and service of space ships and interplanetary navigation? Young men! Apply at your nearest recruiting office for admission to the Earth Satellite Vehicle Corps."

The earth satellite vehicle program, which is actually in progress, is inspired by the theory that somehow it is more efficient to project guided missiles at a target on the earth from a platform floating 200,000 miles in the sky than from a mundane platform.

To achieve this mysteriously desirable end the Defense Department proposes to hurl some kind of aerial flattop nine-tenths of the way to the moon and make it hang there through an exact balance between earth gravity and other heavenly forces.

The project poses a number of questions for Congress. For example, should a future draft law exempt certain categories of manpower from service outside the planet as well as from outside the continental limits of the United States? Also what about extra pay for personnel stationed out of this world?

AMERICUS AND THE KREMLIN

President Truman's informal statement that there were some Russian leaders who want an understanding with the United States may not be confirmed in Moscow, but some evidence to support it can be found here in Earl Browder's continued survival as an important factor in Communist politics.

Browder's heresy was his conception of an enlightened American capitalism which in the postwar period would live in harmony with the Soviet Union and which in order to find outlets for its great surpluses would sponsor vast programs of democratic industrialization in the undeveloped areas of the world.

Browder's invitation to Moscow after his denunciation and ouster from the CPUSA indicated that he had support in the Politburo, and the fact that in his efforts to get back into the Communist Party he has not abandoned his basic views makes those views a clue to the thinking of at least part of the Soviet leadership.

Those views are described in a pamphlet, "Where Do We Go from Here?," written under the pseudonym of "Americus" and now being widely discussed in Communist Party circles. The *New Republic* acquired its copy from a nearby newsstand. That "Americus" is Earl Browder is clear from the point of view expressed in the pamphlet, the style of writing and analysis, and the detailed information it contains about inner party controversies.

"Where Do We Go from Here?" was written in October and is a commentary on the published proceedings of the Communist Party's national convention held last summer. Americus details the party's deterioration under the leadership of his successor, William Z. Foster. Because of Foster's policies, writes Americus, the rank and file of the trade-union movement has turned its back on the Communists, the Wallace movement has dwindled to "a splinter party of radical middle class character," the Communist Party,

The Black Day

To the Memory of Laurence Duggan

God help that country where informers thrive!
Where slander flourishes and lies contrive:—
Kill truth by whispers and keep fraud alive.

God help that country by informers fed
Where fear corrupts and where suspicion's spread,
By lies and libels, even to the dead.

God help that country where the informer's shame
Outshouts the decent silence to defame
The dead man's honor and defile his name.

God help that country, cankered deep by doubt,
Where honest men, by scandals turned about,
See honor murdered and will not speak out.

God help that country—but for you—for you,
Pure heart, sweet spirit, humble, loyal, true,
Pretend, pretend we know not what we do.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

Reprinted by courtesy of the New York Herald Tribune

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plagued with factionalism "of a semi-Trotskyist character," is resorting to "thousands of expulsions," and the Roosevelt coalition has disintegrated.

"Foster always had a weakness for Trotskyite theories," comments Americus. During the war he and "his chief theoretician, Bittelman," held that there were "two distinct and simultaneous wars, one between the Axis states and the Anglo-American alliance which was purely imperialist" and the other a liberation war between the Soviet Union and the Axis. When the CPUSA rejected this concept, writes Americus, Foster and Bittelman "took up a diplomatic silence on the issue" but inwardly they were unreconstructed. This was to have grave practical consequences during the Battle of the Bulge. At that moment John L. Lewis was spearheading a mass strike movement which, had it been successful, would have had destructive consequences on Allied morale. The Communists had to overcome the stubborn opposition of Foster in order to join hands with the "Murray-Hillman center group" in opposing the spread of this movement.

Americus discusses this episode in connection with Foster's reluctance to accept Stalin's 1946 estimate of the war as an anti-fascist one from its very beginning. Current Moscow propaganda, however, is closer to Foster's view than to Stalin's or Browder's.

Because the party under Foster rejected the notion of a progressive American capitalism it was incapable in the postwar years of developing a program around which a popular majority could be rallied for the purposes of warding off war and depression. Though "the political ideas and moods of the masses are more progressive today than in 1944, or 1940, or 1936," asserts Americus, the party could not admit this, for then it would have to take the responsibility for the disintegration of the progressive camp. It was more convenient to blame it on the "reactionary offensive."

The rout of the Communists in the unions and the subsequent inevitable dwindling of Wallace's strength basically was caused by the failure of the Communist Party to provide an effective counter proposal to the Marshall Plan.

It could not do so, argues Americus, because any practical alternative capable of winning wide popular support involved the assumption that American capitalism could produce for the world market without imperialist intervention. Wallace had an alternative plan, says Americus, but it was boycotted by the Communists, who considered it one of the "unsound" features of Wallace's program inextricably linked with Wallace's notion of progressive capitalism. In the absence of a practical alternative to the Marshall Plan on the basis of which trade unionists could be persuaded of the validity of the Wallace approach, the Communists had to resort to ordering the unions under their influence into the Wallace party, and naturally accomplished the opposite.

The agreement of Wallace and the Communists on an "anti-imperialist" and an "anti-monopoly" program is called by Americus an agreement in words only.

He regards as "legitimate" the worries of the non-Communists in the Wallace camp over Communist efforts to dominate the new party. He describes as "clumsy exercises in semantics" the simultaneous declarations that the Communists had no desire to take over the new party and that nevertheless it "must be led by its most class-conscious sector."

Wallace was right, says Americus, when in the course of the campaign he declared that if the Communists would run their own presidential ticket such a step would cost the new party 100,000 votes and gain it 3,000,000.

Here again Americus' case against Foster would be more plausible if the international Communist perspective were one of long-time coöperation with the forces of bourgeois democracy.

Americus calls the Wallace party a "third force" movement, which, nevertheless, deserves the support of the Communists because the issue in the United States is between progressive and reactionary capitalism, whereas in Europe there is immediate prospect of a transition to socialism, which makes the third force reactionary there.

In this way Americus manages to agree with the Cominform while he denounces Foster and the National Committee of the CPUSA, whose policies are patently closer to those of the Cominform. This is a diplomatic position for a man who expects to be called back into the leadership of the Communist Party and who knows that the final decision will rest with Moscow and the Cominform. Despite Foster's failure to build the party, however, it is unlikely that Browder will replace him unless the anonymous Kremlin group referred to by President Truman wins out.

A NEW TRUST BUSTER

The 81st Congress can go to work with a ready-made plan for correcting the abuses of monopoly which have persisted for decades despite the good intentions behind the Sherman Act of 1890 and similar legislation. Reform is now possible through a 16-point program turned out by the House Small Business Committee, which found that "rehabilitation of the nation's anti-trust laws has long been overdue."

One of the committee's suggestions is to bar guilty businessmen from interstate commerce for a specified period. Another would permit injured businessmen to sue for three times the amount of their injury. The committee felt that such penalties would be more persuasive than jail terms and fines, which seldom have been imposed anyway.

The committee recommended increased appropriations for the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission. It wants the FTC to investigate the "desirability of breaking down so-called conglomerates in American business," observing that "America now has 48 corporations each with assets of a billion dollars or more."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Dutch figured large in Hitler's plans. They were to have been freed from the burdens of a weak, sterile independence. Their country was to have become the heart of a great, strong Low Countries Federation within the Third Reich's New Order. Hitler made his point clear from the start: in a single day's blitz, his Stukas argued down the sticks and stones of Rotterdam.

Many Dutchmen didn't yield to such suasion. One of them was Hubertus Johannes van Mook, who served for three years in the Netherlands Government-in-Exile in London. But when Hitler's fall let the government go back to Amsterdam, van Mook went to the Netherlands East Indies as governor general. And there he decided that what wasn't good for the superior Dutch *was* good for the Indonesians. After all, weren't they Kipling's "new-caught, sullen peoples, half devil and half child"? How could superior Dutchmen permit freedom and independence to lesser peoples beyond the law?

The Dutch fought two wars against the Indonesians—between the fall of the Japanese warlords and the Linggadjati Pact in 1946, and again in the summer of 1947. The Indonesians didn't yield, but van Mook made a comment in a language both Hitler and Kipling (each in his own way) would have understood: "If we play our cards right, we can stay here for another hundred years."

Apparently the playing is still with blood and fire: for a third time, the superior Dutch are warring against the Indonesians. So confident do they seem of their cards that they haven't even bothered to give soft answers to the US, which helped free them from Hitler, or to the UN, which is trying to make a world without bloody emancipators. And it may, tragically, be true that they *are* playing their cards right.

The world knows quite well the real stakes of the game. What the Dutch are concerned with is their own imperialist use of great riches—rubber, tin, textiles, rice, soap, margarine and a vast store of the palm and vegetable oils so necessary to grease the wheels of a mechanized world in peace and war. Nevertheless, neither the US nor the UN seems willing to try to stop them by anything stronger than righteous indignation—the caution of imperial Britain's Paul Falla saps the strength of Security Council "action," and the US cuts off ECA help to Indonesia but not to Holland.

Of course, any sort of effective action in the Security Council or elsewhere depends on the US. Who in the US prevents such action? There's no mystery about the answer. They are the men in the Pentagon who think of Dutch soldiers facing Soviet armies in Western Europe; men in the State Department who count on Dutch "police" action against Communists in Asia; and men in Wall Street board rooms whose own stake in Southeast Asia has been immeasurely increased during the war years.

Such men think we have gone far enough. Anyway, the "police" action was necessary because the Indonesians were both uncoöperative and Communist. And what's all the fuss about? Aren't the Dutch sending out to Indonesia a flock of conciliators headed by the Socialist Prime Minister Willem Drees? If the soldiers went too far, the diplomats will fix up things.

But the fact is that both Kipling and Hitler are dead. The East is awakening, and blood and fire won't lull it to its old sleep. Puppets and collaborators won't finish the work of blitzes. On the contrary, our failure to act effectively now against the Dutch "liberators" of Indonesia can only defeat the purposes of the Pentagon, the State Department and Wall Street. The Soviets will be strengthened both in Europe and Asia, and the fruits of healthy trade with Indonesia will go elsewhere than to Americans.

And our stake isn't only material—great as that may be. We have our good name to consider. We have decency and justice and peace to struggle for by peaceful vigor if we aren't to fight for them once more by blood and fire.

★

The Ruhr Authority draft agreement is full of finely worded high hopes. There's a section that's supposed to take care of the French, whose past experience with the Ruhr gives them more fear than hope. It says that "persons who have been, or may be, found to have furthered the aggressive designs of the National Socialist Party" aren't to be allowed to "hold positions of ownership or control." That's good enough so far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough either backward or forward: there were the Junkers; the Ruhr was an arsenal in World War I, too; and who can tell if post-Nazi Germans will be guided by sweetness and light?

The same section of the draft also says "there shall not be allowed to develop, or be restored, any pattern of ownership . . . which would constitute excessive concentration of economic power." But the word "excessive" has the kind of looseness and ambiguity that has let generations of lawyers earn fortunes from interpreting the "due process of law" clause of the US Constitution. And by the agreement's voting arrangement, the power to interpret will be left to Americans. Who at this date can tell if they're to be eloquent and well-intentioned diplomats, or hard-headed, practical operators from Wall Street, Pittsburgh and Gary?

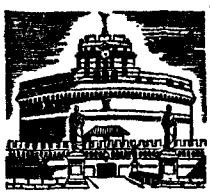
The finely worded high hopes of the draft don't nullify General Lucius

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clay's Ordinance Number 75 which promises eventual ownership of the Ruhr to a "freely elected" German government; and they don't assure any continuation of dismantling of German industries. The news from London hasn't made the Humphrey Committee fold up its tents and slink away; and the Germany-firsters and economy-firsters are still very much in business. In fact, it remains true that not what we *say* but what we *do* about the Ruhr is the thing that counts.

★

Hungary is the third of the countries behind the Iron Curtain in which struggles between Communist officials and Roman Catholic hierarchs have recently furnished brutal modern versions of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* in the 1870's. The terrorist tactics used against the Church in Tito's Yugoslavia, Pauker's Rumania, and Rakosi's Hungary far outdo in ruthlessness anything ever attempted in the Kaiser's Reich; not even the Iron Chancellor dared jail an archbishop—as Yugoslavia did Stepanic—or arrest a cardinal—as Hungary did Mindszenty. Nevertheless, some of the basic issues in the present conflicts resemble those of the last century; the local hierarchies are resisting efforts of the state to laicize education, to create "national" churches and to break down *ultramontanism*—allegiance to Rome, and to Rome alone.



On the other hand, the present struggles differ from the old one in an area of major importance. Bitter controversy over religious, political, moral and spiritual matters is complicated by the economic situation. All three of the Balkan countries are only now emerging from a benighted feudal past of all-powerful reactionary land ownership and miserable land-hungry peasantry; and in all three the Church itself has both been a great landowner and tended to support the interests of the other great feudal barons.

This has been specially true in Hungary. The arrest of the Cardinal became only a matter of time when Rakosi some weeks ago suggested that the *kolkhoz*—the confiscation and collectivization of the land—was on its way. Not only did the Cardinal resist this trend; his secretary, Father Paulus, preached a sermon in which he urged that the Church should, if necessary, be prepared to become an illegal organization of resistance against Communist land "reform." On the prospects of the future, the New York *Times* comments:

> The sanctions that the government now threatens to use include confiscation of all payments made toward the stipend of priests and teachers, and the restriction of Church land holdings (which in Hungary is the Church's only revenue-producing asset) in the same manner as in the case of kulaks. This puts before the Vatican the dilemma either of allowing Hungarian Catholics to live a hand-to-mouth and hole-and-corner life, like that of the early Christians in Rome, or reaching some modus vivendi with the government under which the Church would be permitted to exercise religious functions in the narrowest sense.

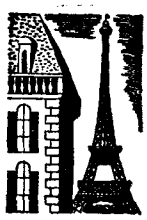
The *Kulturkampf* in Germany was finally settled through the enlightened efforts of Pope Leo XIII, the author of the famous encyclical *De Rerum Novarum* (Of New Things). It was in this historic document that a pontiff first mentioned labor unions and paid attention to the economic problems of the modern world. The encyclical earned for Leo the reputation of being the most liberal holder of the Triple Tiara in centuries; it also created the bases for modern Catholic political liberalism—the policies of the MRP in France, the Christian Democrats in Italy, and of Catholic trade unionism in the US are based on it.

Pope Pius XII has frequently invoked and supported the progressive orientations of the *De Rerum Novarum*. In coping with the serious problems created by Communist anti-religious terrorism in the Balkans, he may follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor and take into account not only the religious, moral and spiritual issues but also the political and economic ones, above all the need for progressive democratic reforms to challenge the Communist "reforms" in countries like Hungary. If he does, his action will have a great and heartening effect on the development of Catholic liberalism in the West as well as the East.

★

In France, "ECA funds may bring about increased production, but so long as the Americans do not see the need for dispossessing the economic old guard, and forcing real economic reforms, they will be building a house of cards." (See "The Dead Hand of Darlan," the *New Republic,* December 27.) Among France's urgent needs is a government with the political courage not only to make the rich stop evading tax payments, but to increase direct taxes on all Frenchmen really able to pay. For one of the aces of the Communists' raw-deal propaganda is the burden of heavy indirect taxes on Frenchmen least able to pay, especially the workers.

Last week ECA granted to the Queuille government two more big chunks of the counterpart funds: 25 billion francs to reduce the government's debt to the Bank of France (one of the major sources of inflation) and 20 billion francs for industrial reconstruction. This lifted to an equivalent of $495.7 million the total of US aid, of which the avowed purpose is to get the French started by their own efforts toward long-term, permanent, stable economic recovery. The New York *Times* commented, "The French say that it came in the nick of time to aid Premier Queuille in his budget battle."



Thanks to the US taxpayers, whose money goes into ECA grants, Queuille won his battle. He "balanced" the budget (on paper at least). According to the *Times,* he was able to do it "by a heavy increase in indirect taxation. Despite Socialist opposition, the National Assembly chose this means of reaching a balance rather than direct tax rises." *Plus ça change . . .* P. W.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTISTS AND BUREAUCRATS

Soviet doctrine is sterilizing and warping the talent of painters, musicians and writers for the glory of Holy Russia

by Joseph P. Lash

SOVIET CULTURE is particularly vulnerable to political dictation. This is true because of the structure of Soviet intellectual life: the unions of musicians, writers and artists, the assignment of tasks to these groups by the government and the Communist Party, and the special emphasis which Leninist theory places on the duties of the intellectuals in the period of transition to a fully Communist state.

Political attacks on art, music and literature are chronic in Soviet society and over the years have exacted a heavy toll from Soviet cultural workers. Postwar developments, however, have eclipsed in severity all previous cultural purifications. They have affected every art. The range of permissible subjects and techniques has been narrowly particularized. The prohibited areas have been vastly enlarged.

Some aspects of the cultural upheaval verge on the ludicrous. A casual remark by a member of the Politburo may produce a major purge in music or art. In a democratic society no matter what the prevailing taste may be, intellectual and esthetic dissent can always find a patron and a means of expression. Harry Truman can express vigorous opinions about modern art or his musical preferences without new esthetic trends becoming mandatory.

In a totalitarian society if an opera such as Shostakovich's "Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk" or Muradeli's "Great Friendship" displeases Stalin, the union of musicians must hastily convene and review all musical work. If a member of the Politburo fancies himself a Soviet da Vinci and dogmatizes indiscriminately about philosophy, literature, music, physics, his doctrines become the starting points for purges, new esthetic fashions, breast-beating resolutions.

With the present Soviet political leadership this can understandably mean a lowering of intellectual standards. The new elite of Soviet society —very much like the tycoons of our own Gilded Age—has been immersed in the vast, practical tasks of building a country from scratch. Its emphasis necessarily has been on quantity and tangible results. Unlike the older generation of Bolsheviks who made the Revolution, this new elite has been singularly insulated from Western, cosmopolitan cultural influences. Inevitably this must be reflected in its judgments about science and culture. Thus one sympathetic student of Soviet painting concludes that it is dominated by middle-class prestige values, while the recent attack on musical "formalism" has been attributed to the "petty-bourgeois" tastes of the new Soviet middle class.

A more deep-rooted cause of the decline of the arts in the Soviet Union is the cultural backwardness of the Soviet people. Stalin, in his meeting with the British Labor Party delegation, remarked that one of the difficulties that confronted Russia and with which the British did not have to contend was the general lower level of culture in the Soviet Union. The more one studies the reactionary turn socialism has taken in the USSR, the more one is convinced that basic to many of its deformations is this never ending pressure of a backward population, especially the peasantry.

At the end of the Second World War, which depleted the energies and resources of the Soviet people, there was urgent need to marshal new energies for the formidable task of postwar reconstruction. More important, the disintegrative forces set in motion within Soviet society by the war had to be overcome. Writers, dramatists, film workers—all "engineers of the human soul" as Stalin had called them —were expected to be in the forefront of the psychological mobilization of the Soviet people for the postwar Five Year Plans. But the arts could not be effective unless they were geared to the cultural level of the masses, unless they were couched in an idiom that was simple and widely comprehensible. It is in this sense that the cultural backwardness of the Soviet people has been a fundamental factor in shaping the nature and emphasis of the castigation administered to the arts by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The late A. Zhdanov's famous dressing-down of Leningrad writers in September, 1946, first revealed to the outside world that Soviet intellectual life was in the throes of no ordinary convulsion. His address on "The Responsibility of the Soviet Writer" sounded the major themes that were to be reëchoed in subsequent party declarations on music, painting, the cinema, architecture and even jazz.

Art, said Zhdanov, cannot divorce itself from the fate of the Soviet people and Soviet society. Its claims to ideological or stylistic independence represent vestiges of bourgeois ways of thought. The government and the Central Committee have as much responsibility for the fulfillment of plans on the cultural front as they have on the production front. The task of Soviet culture, he declared, is to glorify Soviet man. Art must avoid works which spread pessimism, gloom, weariness or any mood which might exercise a negative influence on people. It must avoid characters who are not high-minded, strong of will, and pure. Writers who are preoccupied with the base and petty sides of Soviet life are slanderers and unfit to teach the Soviet people, especially its youth.

The mission of the Soviet artist, said Zhdanov, is not only to inculcate

This is the third of four articles on the present war on Western ideas inside the Soviet Union. The last will deal with the reasons for this ideological purge.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Soviet patriotism but to expose and denounce bourgeois culture, which seeks to divert the interest of the masses from urgent social problems "into the channels of a shallow and degraded form of literature and art, abounding in gangsters, girls from variety shows, in eulogies of adultery, and in descriptions of rogues and adventurers." It does not befit the "representatives of progressive Soviet culture, Soviet patriots, to adopt the attitude of admirers of bourgeois culture, or the attitude of apprentices toward it."

Like everyone else, the Soviet artist is expected to make the fulfillment of the Five Year Plan the central concern of his work. It is essential that he eschew "formalism" so that his work will be comprehensible to the great masses of people. In another address Zhdanov conceded that not everything that is understandable is necessarily great, but he insisted that "all that is really great is understandable and the greater it is, the more understandable it is to the broad masses of people."

Zhdanov's address was promptly followed by action all along the cultural front. The Union of Writers was reorganized and its former head ousted. Individual writers were taken to task and many published works were rewritten. The popular satirist, Zoshchenko, and the woman poet, Akhmatova, who had been special objects of Zhdanov's wrath, were barred from further publication.

The film world was told that "the cinema is a sharp, ideological party weapon, and departure from contemporary life would mean the loss of its principal valuable qualities." Film producers were ordered to stop making films based on historical and "fairy-tale" themes. Eisenstein came under attack for "formalism" and the newly completed second part of his trilogy, "Ivan the Terrible," was not released for distribution. The Central Committee handed film producers a list of twenty permissible subjects, stating that valor in war and loyalty to the Soviet Union should be stressed and that *every* film would have to be connected with the Five Year Plan.

Foreign plays were withdrawn from the stage. Even those depicting "bourgeois decadence" were now considered unfit for Soviet audiences. Such plays as Maugham's "The Circle," Wilde's "An Ideal Husband," and Kaufman and Hart's "The Man Who Came to Dinner" were dropped from Soviet repertories. The Leningrad producers of "Hamlet" rewrote the famous passage to read: "The time is out of joint. I was born to set it right."

Painters were warned against following such "formalists" as Picasso, Matisse and the Cubists, and the excellent collection of French Impressionists in Moscow was closed to the public and stored away in the cellar.

A decree of the Central Committee denounced formalism in music and ordered the reconstruction of all work in music to make it comprehensible to the Soviet people. The immediate occasion of the decree was the opening performance of Muradeli's opera, "Great Friendship," which was condemned among other reasons because "there is no one melody or aria in it that remains in the memory." Such world-famous composers as Shostakovich, Prokofiev and Khatchaturian were condemned for music which was "anti-democratic," "alien to the Soviet people and its artistic taste" and reeking "strongly of the spirit of the contemporary modernist bourgeois music of Europe and America which reflects the marasmus of bourgeois culture. . . ." The director of the Moscow Conservatory of Music was ousted and Khatchaturian was replaced as chairman of the Union of Soviet Composers.

Out of all this turmoil there has emerged a virulent cultural nationalism as disquieting in the arts as it is in the sciences. To safeguard a perfect Soviet society and a superior Soviet man from contamination, the bridges of a humanity common to all men are swiftly being blown up. Soviet patriotism, heroic Soviet man, Western decadence are the invarying refrains of the new ideology.

The Soviet literary critic, M. Egolin, explaining to Moscow writers the significance of Zhdanov's address, made patriotism the keynote. In discussing the great Russian writers of the pre-revolutionary period he stressed love of the Motherland: "They taught the people their ardent love for the Motherland. In their immortal works of art the writers portrayed with genius the immeasurable expanse of our land, the character and mind of the Russian man. . . . They showed the beauty of soul of the Russian man, human and kind in his intercourse with those around him, but terrible to the enemies, the oppressors, the invaders. . . ."

Soviet writers, Egolin continued, should build on this tradition of patriotism. It is their duty to show "the way in which will power and strength of character are developed, in which average people, overcoming the hardships and burdens of war, perform great deeds, become heroes."

The contemporary Soviet writing selected for criticism makes even clearer the rigid nationalistic framework in which the Soviet artist must now function. One story is attacked because its principal character is an artist "whose only concern in the days of the war is the fate of his picture." Another story is condemned because "we are shown a flyer who is interested not so much in aviation as in the ballet, about which he constantly reminisces." Such characters are not typical of the heroic defenders of the Soviet homeland!

If the Red Army and its personnel are not portrayed in the bombastic accents of a military communique or an official citation for bravery, it is slanderous. A story of the rout of some Nazi units encircled by Soviet troops is singled out for criticism because the defeat of the stubbornly resisting Germans is accomplished by the unheroic means of destroying their wine stores and cutting off their supply of prostitutes. Equally reprehensible to the official critic is the tale of a Soviet officer, stationed at a frontier post in 1941, who in the general retreat hides a bottle of wine in a cellar. Years later when the land is retaken the offi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cer looks for his bottle only to find it broken. Why all this is told, the humorless Soviet critic declares, no one knows.

Alexander Fadeyev's prize-winning novel about partisan warfare, *The Young Guard,* after selling a million copies came under *Pravda's* fire for its political line. Fadeyev had pictured the Soviet population as fleeing in panic before the German advance, whereas, said *Pravda,* it had been a strategic, orderly retreat. Moreover, he had shown members of the Communist Party being taught and led by Komsomols in the organization of guerrilla units, whereas, according to official doctrine, only the reverse could be the case.

Poetry, it is decreed, must be permeated with Soviet optimism and noble striving. Moods of sorrow and discouragement, an individualistic preoccupation with love and personal destiny are considered alien to the Soviet outlook. Egolin cited the following as an example of decadent "grief over the past and foreboding of death":

> Sorrow will go to sleep, love will pass,
> Flowers will go to sleep in the misty meadow . . .
> My garden will be covered with snow,
> Everything in it will go to sleep and grow quiet . . .
> My voice they will bury in the ground
> And I shall hear nothing . . .

One may question the originality of this poetry, but to exclude its sentiments as unworthy of Soviet man is to conjure up a picture of a dehumanized society. Clearly an entire range of human emotion, behavior and character has been banished from Soviet writing. It is unlikely that Sholokhov's magnificent epic about the Don Cossacks could have been written under such restrictions.

Since Soviet society must be portrayed in its perfections and Soviet man must demonstrate an unfailing nobility of thought and action, one of the major problems that has arisen for the Soviet writer is how to preserve the element of conflict. A discussion is actually raging among Soviet dramatists over whether the concept of conflict has not outlived its time because in a classless society contradiction has been eliminated. The opponents of this view are trying to salvage the element of conflict by arguing that there is a "new kind of dramatic conflict peculiar to Soviet reality." This is a "drama of non-hostile elements." The clash between the energetic, progressive type of personality and the passive, smug, indifferent one is permitted under this rubric, as is the struggle between the selfish desire for personal glory and social duty. They agree, however, that such clashes must be handled with care because under socialism there can be no permanent or basic antagonism between the individual and his society.

Such verbalizings are remote from Soviet realities. Judging by the amount of legal and extra-legal repression in the USSR, it is a society filled with tensions and intra-social hostility. We get an occasional glimpse of it in the flight of a Kosenkina or in the refusal of Soviet authorities to allow Soviet women married to foreigners to leave the country. In so far as Soviet writers cannot deal with real conflicts and real people, it is inevitable that Soviet literature should degenerate into a patriotic ritual.

Ideological restrictions on content have been accompanied by no less cramping restraints on form and style. When the Soviet authorities attack "formalism" they mean technical and stylistic innovations originating with such decadent Westerners as Matisse and Picasso in painting, the symbolists in literature, Hindemith and Stravinsky in music.

The chief indictment of "formalism" is that it makes a work of art less readily accessible to wide public enjoyment. Invariably the epithet "formalist" is coupled with such adjectives as "anti-public" and "anti-democratic." The Central Committee's decree on music stated: ". . . Many Soviet composers, in pursuit of falsely conceived innovation, have lost contact in their music with the demands and the artistic taste of the Soviet people, have shut themselves off in a narrow circle of specialists and musical gourmands. . . ."

Artists do have a tendency toward inbreeding and an overspecialization in which the solution of esoteric stylistic problems becomes the chief end of artistic creation. But this problem can hardly be dealt with by imperious "cease and desist" orders. To attack innovation and experimentation as the Soviet politicians have done, insisting instead—as they have in music—on the utilization of folk melodies, is to intensify, not solve, the artist's dilemma. Prokofiev has posed that dilemma clearly:

"I have never had any doubts as to the importance of melody. I personally am very fond of melody and consider it the most important element in music. To find a melody that would be acceptable even to the uninitiated and at the same time original is the most difficult problem for a composer. . . . It is especially difficult to keep the melody simple without allowing it to become cheap, saccharine or imitative."

One of the derivative effects of the new line in Soviet culture has been the revaluation of Western writers commonly regarded as progressive and who have been longtime favorites in the USSR. Lillian Hellman's "Watch on the Rhine" is acknowledged to have played a "positive role" in its time, but the play's significance is diminished ". . . by the fact that the dramatist restricts her circle of Americans to one wealthy family." Miss Hellman is criticized for ignoring the "American reactionaries who connived with fascism," and her portrait of a European anti-fascist is said to be lacking in strength because of a lack of familiarity "with the people about whom she desires to write."

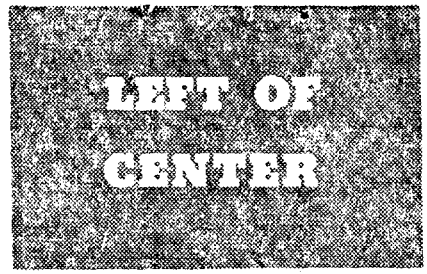
John Steinbeck's *The Moon Is Down* is criticized on the ground that his fascist characters are "not shown in all their inhumanity and monstrosity. Likewise the Norwegians who oppose them are sentimentalized." A later book, *Cannery Row,* is dismissed as "escapist" and he is accused of try-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing to hide away from the need to fight world reaction headed by the United States. Erskine Caldwell comes under attack for "gross naturalism" and for picturing his characters as pathological degenerates rather than as victims of capitalist oppression. The accusation of being attracted by the pathological is also leveled against Richard Wright, who is charged in addition with aiming to paralyze the ability of Negroes to resist exploitation. Howard Fast's novels are singled out for high praise, but not even he escapes censure. His "Freedom Road" is criticized, ironically enough, because of "the author's limited exploration of the inner life of his characters, and the inadequate investigation of the role of the Northern bourgeoisie in the destruction of Negro freedom in the South."

Soviet writers, nevertheless, are being assured that leading American figures "advocate emulation of the best Soviet writing" and that American writers "look to the achievements of Soviet literature in order to raise their criticism of bourgeois reality to a new and higher level and to depict a people capable of fighting for justice and a truly human society." Communist Party publications here, we are sure, will see to it that such assurances receive prompt corroboration. Few Communist writers will have the temerity of the *Daily Worker* film critic who recently condemned the much touted "Admiral Nakhimov" for its dullness.

The inevitable effect of this forced subordination of the creative arts to political strategy and tactics has been to push Soviet painting in the direction of "calendar art," music toward a banal sentimentalism, the theatre, cinema and literature toward pollyannaism. Communist propagandists may deny it, but even as this article was being written Moscow dispatches provided additional confirmation. The Soviet playwright, Pogodin, is quoted to the effect that the contemporary Soviet theatre is "in a state of anemia." Naturally Pogodin and his friends have been denounced for lack of patriotism and for "kowtowing before bourgeois Western culture."



THE FACE of liberalism in 1949—and perhaps for many years to come—may depend upon the piece of plastic surgery now shaping the profile of the CIO.

The shake-up in the CIO, however, is a much more complicated process than appears on the surface. Murray's first blow was directed not at one of the Communist-dominated internationals but at "right-winger" Wolchok's Retail-Wholesale union. Various motives are assigned for the action: (a) Murray chose to act first against Wolchok to strengthen his moral position in acting against the "Left"; (b) Murray chose this moment to cleanse a union bedeviled by all kinds of factionalisms, political, personal, picayune; (c) Murray transferred jurisdiction to the wealthier, stronger Amalgamated Clothing Workers to block Communist penetration of the department stores. Inside labor opinion holds that Potofsky (ACW) is primarily interested in getting jurisdiction in the retail-clothing and department-store fields in order to reinforce control of the clothing industry. Other branches of the old Retail-Wholesale would like to regroup, minus Wolchok, into a new union within the CIO.

The shakeup in the Farm Equipment Workers may be much tougher. The CIO decision turns this "Left" union over to the United Auto Workers. The Executive Board of the FE rejected the CIO order to act within 60 days and referred the matter to its convention in March. Curiously enough, the FE wanted to get into the UAW just before the last auto-worker convention—hoping to strengthen the anti-Reuther forces. The Reuther group then opposed its admission. Now Reuther favors admission but the FE is opposed.

The United Electric Radio and Machine Workers will probably end up in the Murray camp without transfer of jurisdiction. In addition to the two large locals noted in the last "Left of Center" which have swung to the "right," the following are to be added: Fairmont, West Virginia; Huntington, West Virginia; Dayton, Ohio. In the last case, the "Right Slate" conducted a write-in campaign against Business Agent Kermit Kirkendall (ten years in control) and elected James Devine. As "Right" strength gains in the locals, it may well develop that President Albert Fitzgerald will do another "Quill."

The National Maritime Union's Joe Curran has ordered the most draconic action against the "Communist" bloc. He has simply read his "Left" opponents out of the union and ruled them off his ships.

Quill's Transport Workers and Curran's Maritime Union refuse to renew their agreements with their office employees who are represented by the United Office and Professional Workers (CIO) because the UOPWA is "Left"-led.

A Reuther-Murray feud is being talked up by the Communists in the CIO. The Stalinists hope that in such a rift they will gain a balance-of-power position. The CP-ers are experimenting with the new tactic at the city and state level. "Murray Forces Battle Reuther in Maryland" announces the *Daily Worker* of December 21. The *DW* describes the struggle as between the Auto Workers-Shipyard -ACTU (Association of Catholic Trade Unionists)-National Maritime Union, on the one side, and the Steelworkers-Amalgamated Clothing Workers on the other. The latter won out with the aid of "independent progressives [read "Left"] constituting a balance of power group." This Maryland rift "portends the sharpening struggle for leadership in the CIO," cries the *Worker*.

The California State CIO Convention is typical of the confusion exist-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing in the CIO as it adjusts to the new policy. Tim Flynn, Murray-appointed Northern California regional CIO director, preferred to ignore the convention. "It is a mere shell of a council that was wrecked by the action of its mis-leaders," he said, "in following the Communist Party line and fighting against national CIO policy." Simultaneously, the convention received greetings from Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the "Right" Amalgamated Clothing Workers, urging "a solid front against all those who are against labor."

Philadelphia liberals are looking up again as the report spreads that the Philadelphia *Record* is to be revived early in 1949. Among those rumored to be behind the move are Albert Greenfield, nationally known Democrat; State Senator Harry Shapiro; Joseph Sill Clark Jr., president of the local Americans for Democratic Action. . . . Norman Thomas' vote was 132,138 this year, with more than 40,000 votes coming from New York. Socialist Labor Party candidate Teichert got 27,921 votes; Socialist Workers Party candidate Dobbs got 13,007 votes. The *Socialist Call,* official SP paper, has cut down to four pages and is making emergency appeals.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union broke labor's silence about necessary modifications in the old Wagner Act. When the 80th Congress was considering labor legislation, the trade unions refused to make any positive proposals for change and finally ended up with Taft-Hartley. Now that T-H is on the way out, the ILGWU has not only asked for labor-management legislation in the spirit of the Wagner Act but has also rejected precedent by favoring amendments to the old statute. These include a federal board to settle jurisdictional disputes; a ban on secondary boycotts in jurisdictional battles; extension of the non-Communist affidavits to employers, with the addition of fascists and other totalitarians; extension of union reporting on finances to include employers.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

THIS ENGLAND

THE POOR COUSIN on the other side of the tracks who has a hard time scraping together the cash to pay for coal is seldom popular in the family. So, I suspect, it goes with the average American viewpoint toward England and the British Commonwealth.

Not since the brave days of the London and Coventry air raids and the RAF's singlehanded fight has undivided American attention and admiration fastened on England. Since then we have had lend-lease, the British loan, the Marshall Plan, differences over Palestine and the squabbles between Eisenhower and Montgomery. However, future recorders of Post-World War II doings may decide, to alter the simile, that Socialist England, the flat-broke son living in an unheated attic and scribbling away at a manuscript to recoup his fortunes, was the genius of the family. They may well judge that he has written the great work of our age.

SOCIALIST BRITAIN, by Francis Williams (Viking Press; $3).

The trials and errors, the hopes and plans, the sharp limitations of poverty which have shaped the acts of the British Labor Government since its election victory in 1945, are what Francis Williams records in *Socialist Britain.* Like Harry Hopkins writing about Roosevelt, the author is a prejudiced observer. Many of the members of the British cabinet are his friends; he has held several jobs with the government, the most recent as adviser on public relations to Prime Minister Attlee. But he asks, and honestly tries to answer, some of the most necessary questions of our age about political liberty, economic security, the ambitions of the Soviet Union and power relationships in a world still made up of national sovereignties.

Since the author held a position close to the center of British labor power and administration for more than two years, it is safe to assume that the questions he asks and the solutions he suggests are close to the thinking of British government leaders. Mixed in with such questions is the kind of behind-the-door description of politics and history which men like Churchill, Hopkins and Byrnes have been supplying the Anglo-American reading public. We learn that Attlee "suffers acutely . . . if someone circulates the after-dinner port in the wrong direction." That Ernest Bevin once asked the Minister of Food, "What about medicinal paraffin?" and then smugly informed the cabinet, "You can fry fish in it." That Aneurin Bevan took great pride in the fact that the Royal Ordnance factories were beating swords into bathtubs; he kept several of them in his office, saying: "There you are, my boy. Have you ever seen a better bath in your life?"

Thus, the British leaders come to life. Attlee, in the author's estimation, "is one of the most considerable and formidable figures in British political history." Right or wrong, I doubt that this judgment would have occurred to any casual American observer who remembered the comment of one British writer at the time of the abdication crisis. "Mr. Attlee," he wrote, "played the head of lettuce to Stanley Baldwin's rabbit."

The feud of long standing between Bevin and Morrison is described, as well as Morrison's efforts to be named Prime Minister. Headmaster Cripps, able and aloof, who gets up at four in the morning to begin his working day, is tagged with the famous Churchill remark: "There but for the grace of God goes God."

More important than men are the ideas and forces that shape British Socialist thought and action. Can political liberty be married to economic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

security? "Watch us," says Williams. Is the Soviet Union aggressive and imperialist? So far the question is unanswered, he replies. (However, for the first time in print his book describes the scene at a cocktail party in San Francisco when Molotov casually told Eden, "By the way, those Poles you and the Americans are so interested in—we have arrested them." So began the great divide, with the Lublin Polish government down the drain and the UN conference saved only by Harry Hopkins' flight to see Stalin.) Is the British Commonwealth disintegrating? On the contrary, the author replies, it is moving rapidly "to a new strength and a new cohesion . . . that points the way to a union of free nations such as the world has never previously known."

There is much in this book that will shock the average reader of *Fortune* or the *Wall Street Journal*. To the question, will England swing back to Winston Churchill and the Britain of the nineteenth century, Williams writes:

> No doubt the natural swing in politics under a two-party system will at some stage restore the Conservatives to office for a period. There will then presumably be some amendment in the scope of planning for a time and some slowdown in the speed of change. But it is not easily possible to envisage any drastic reversal that would be either economically possible or politically feasible, or any fundamental change in the broad trends and movements of policy.

A Conservative member of Parliament repeated the same idea in much the same way to me just the other day.

There are faults of style (one sentence contains 123 words) and many of Williams' ideas will be attacked from both Left and Right. But until Attlee, Cripps and Bevin publish their memoirs, his book is likely to stand as the best and most complete account of the first years of British socialism written from a sympathetic viewpoint. And the fundamental fact emerges that, while the world moves leftward, while the American giant shifts from right foot to left, with the true significance lying in its hesitation, Britain has already had a revolution, is managing to survive and has high hopes for the future. NORMAN GRIESER

THE AUTOCRATIC TASTE

AESTHETICS AND HISTORY IN THE VISUAL ARTS, by Bernard Berenson (Pantheon Books; $4).

HOW TO JUDGE ultimate thoughts on art and life of a man who, in eighty-three years, has known more important pictures and people, instigated more collecting and research of Italian painting than anyone alive? Rash indeed to "review" in a few words opinions which span the halves of two centuries. This amateur reviewer ventures only because he senses the book, strictly speaking, as neither history nor esthetic, but rather as the portrait of its compiler.

Bernard Berenson went to Boston, child of an ancient Jewish house in Riga. At Harvard ('87), he was the pupil of Charles Eliot Norton. He became the third leading appreciator of Italian art in English, after Norton, and Norton's master, Ruskin. Of much personal grace and force, he formed the group of Italian masterpieces at Fenway Court. Mrs. Jack Gardner's Brahmin tomb exists today, the inviolate monument of private cultural imperialism of our nineties. Parallel to his actions as expert, Berenson, in a series of studies, clarified the semi-science of attribution. Before him there was of course, Morelli, but Berenson invigorated research with a gracile immediacy. The Boston Athenaeum, as late as 1880, had in its little collection works complacently labeled Raphael, Leonardo and Pintor Ignoto. Instead of gross attributions to a few famed names, Berenson recovered isolated figures from shop or school, although he could replace Pintor Ignoto by "Amico de Sandro," that ghostly familiar of Botticelli whose name Berenson could not find but who, from stylistic evidence, he felt must have existed.

Berenson's energy and ambition determined the luxurious buying of his epoch. Through the twenties, he indirectly dominated the Fogg Museum courses, which gave us our present generation of leading museum directors. As adviser to the dealer, Duveen, he is responsible for purchases by Jules Bache, Philip Lehman, Percy Strauss, and the collections of Kress and Widener, which form the basis of a unique collection—our National Gallery, the single one of its stature made without recourse to king or conquest. Twenty-five years from now, art historians, heirs to Norton and Berenson, may investigate the ledgers of Duveen, as today they do of the Medici. Discredited in particulars, like Napoleon, Berenson may be vindicated in certain principles.

Bonaparte, a small man and alien to the French, seized from the Italian campaign pictures for Le Musée Napoléon, the grandest mass of portable Italian painting outside Italy. As the Louvre, it became a model for all national galleries. Berenson, a small man as alien to Back Bay as to Settignano, has also become a national myth. At his villa "I Tatti," named from his instancing of the tactile values, he is honored not only as a Florentine, but as an Italian hero. His dandy's mind enveloped much humanist speculation in history, politics and poetry; the natural sciences moved him least. Although he has not seen America in a quarter of a century, American students still seek him. His ignorance of our culture is as acute as Ezra Pound's, another worker in mosaics of elegance, information and eccentricity. Napoleon placed his family on the thrones of Spain, Italy and the Low Countries. Among Berenson's disciples are the present chief curator of the National Gallery in Washington, and the great ex-director of the National Gallery in London. Another in New York, directly or indirectly, continues his vast program of establishing the final corpus of Italian painting. Berenson's influence in maintaining the negotiable value of precious art, in instruction, in scholarship, in taste, has been and still is imperial.

His book is dedicated to Kingsley Porter and Denman Ross: *in Elysium*,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where they all may "quarrel as merrily" as on earth. Their disagreement is key to Berenson's taste. Porter perhaps did more for Romanesque architecture in Spain than Berenson for painting in Italy. Ross brought supreme oriental objects to Boston and conducted research toward a science of color and plastic values. Berenson believes in an absolute priority of Mediterranean art. Although he credits the East, he feels no Westerner can comprehend it. He mistrusts all science save that in his own cultivated if narrow eyes. To him, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany and Central Europe are Gothic provinces. The French school is provincial. "Primitive" forms in pre-Columbia, Polynesia or Africa are artifacts rather than art. Art is Italian painting through the Renaissance.

It is all a fanciful, if neither an unseductive nor modest, display of whim. His capital distinction between "illustration" and "decoration" seems, after pages of teasing vagueness, to resemble the antique twins Form and Content. His epigraphs state that people interested in something else than paint are not interested in painting. This masks his villains, otherwise rejected as the "German-minded." Or what many of us, students of Freud, Jung, Panofsky or Wind, as well as of Berenson, might call humane or scientific iconologists.

To Berenson the truths of psychology are rather nasty, and the tradition of cosmologies unprofitable. To him, appreciation is revelation. By extension he elevates personal interest into a creative act. As appreciator, he is the equal to artists. To him, pictures are, after all, either "life-enhancing" or they are not. This esthetic reflects formulas current in his youth: less Wölflin than Pater. There has been no development. Proudly he places his dates—1903, 1911—after a statement to mark its first inscription. Berenson rarely changed his mind. If he has not said art exists for the sake of art, he feels its chief aim is hedonistic or aristocratic assimilation.

His is a book of cultural memoirs, discursive, crotchety, studded with charming *aperçus*, neither carefully written nor edited. It is the mirror of a mandarin rather than the edifice of a philosopher. Since it contains innumerable strict observations it is more rewarding than most academic dissertations published annually by the university presses. Whatever else Berenson has been, he remains the lover of specific works.

He is all but oblivious of art since 1900. George Frederick Watts alone from the nineteenth century seems picked as equal to earlier favorites. More seriously, Berenson suggests few reasons for the decline of art since the Renaissance. Of this, the German-minded have more to say, although they feel paint as means, not end. We need not turn to this book for information, but for oblique perception, to test our taste against his, as on some superior quiz program. Few have had as wide a chance to observe as this fastidious sensualist whose sensibility may reveal more than its apparent snobbery. Understanding his nature in its social and psychological complexity explains the limitations of our older museums and the behavior of many museum men. LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

WORD OF MOUTH

THE AFFAIRS OF DAME RUMOR, by David J. Jacobson (Rinehart and Company; $5).

A NEW YORK public-relations man named David J. Jacobson has decided that rumor is the most dangerous weapon known to man, and he has written a book to prove his thesis. The result is an invaluable reference work. Jacobson has fascinating material, and he uses it so courageously that the value of what he has to say makes up for the slipshod writing and careless organization.

To begin with, Jacobson attacks the intellectual immaturity of his readers. He says we will believe anything and everything we hear. He lists stories of incredible happenings that have survived for centuries; he mentions nature-lore fallacies like quill-throwing porcupines and head-burying ostriches; he discusses the wartime rumors that made women stand in line for hours in front of shops that didn't have a pair of nylons in the place. He makes us think that the people who believe such yarns must be pretty stupid, and then he throw a few flying saucers at us that we've fallen for ourselves. I know advertising men, professors and editors who were looking for 1943 copper pennies a couple of years ago, thinking they'd get a new Ford if they found one. It sounds silly now, but at the time it seemed a logical publicity stunt. Jacobson proves that we all help spread rumors; in fact, the man who didn't spread them, who talked only of what he knew for fact from his own direct experience, would be a dull fellow indeed.

But most of the book is devoted to rumors with a purpose: lies used in war propaganda, in labor-management rows; fictions concocted to bully minorities, to promote bad stocks, to discredit rival businesses. *Dame Rumor* is a one-man encyclopedia, with both the good and bad points of such a work. It stresses or plays down angles, but its scope is broad enough to include material that will appeal to any alert reader.

For the corporation executive, there is a chapter on industrial rumors, beginning with the yarn spread a few years ago about a leper allegedly found working in a cigarette factory. For the man who dabbles in stocks and bonds, Jacobson has written at some length of rumors used to promote or knock down good and bad stocks. For the union member, there is a careful analysis of rumor as an anti-labor weapon. Jacobson tells of paid strikebreakers posing as door-to-door salesmen who smashed an Ohio strike by peddling stories of union graft to housewives in the workingmen's section of town. He describes the lying pamphleteers and phony preachers hired by management to combat the CIO's postwar efforts to organize the South. Jacobson obviously is not afraid of libel suits; he seems to challenge some of the rumor mongers he names, among them George Sokolsky, Representative Clare Hoff-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man, Colonel McCormick, to deny his charges.

Perhaps the most important section of *Dame Rumor* is its thorough tracing of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism and "white supremacy" from their beginnings to the present. I was surprised to learn that Patrick Henry used "white supremacy" as a lever to recruit rebel Virginia troops against the British, and that 32 Negroes were lynched after sex-atrocity rumors swept New York City in 1711.

The "Jewish-ritual-murder" myths, which caused Greeks and Romans to slaughter Jews 2,000 years ago, has thrived on age. That legend was first debunked in writing in 37 B. C., yet Poles who believed it massacred Jews in 1946.

Jacobson tells his terrible story quietly. He has little faith in human nature *per se*, more faith in politically awake individuals who can overcome the basic causes of rumors and hate. Insecurity causes fear; fear causes rumor; rumor causes hate: ". . . the social and economic uncertainties of tomorrow must be minimized, if not eliminated. This is not a utopian dream; it is an actual enterprise, a job for those who honestly and sincerely believe in progressive democracy."

When our social and economic structure has collapsed—when war comes—rumors find their most spectacular uses, in propaganda. The Germans, Russians, British, Americans, have all used a yarn that Jacobson calls "Little Alf's Stamp Collection." In the English version, a mother gets a letter from her soldier son, who is in a Boche prison camp. He describes the good food and wonderful care that the Germans give him, closes by suggesting that the stamp on the letter might be a good one for Little Alf's stamp collection. The mother knows no Little Alf, but she soaks off the stamp anyhow, and there is cramped writing hidden beneath it, "They've torn out my tongue!"

Letters from prison camps, handled by the Red Cross, never carry postage stamps, but that hasn't stopped this story from living at least 35 years.

Much of Jacobson's corrective theory is old and fairly obvious; the value of his book is that it pins down and disproves dozens upon dozens of actual lies, showing how and why they were started, and how professional rumor mongers operate.

Jacobson is not a slick writer; unfortunately, he is occasionally not even smooth. If he had dramatized some of his stories with more skill, the book would be even more powerful. It would be sensational. MIKE DETZER

Mike Detzer was a soldier in the ski troops and the infantry, and a staff writer on Yank. He is now free-lancing.

"THE COMPLETE READER"

THE IMPORTANCE OF SCRUTINY. Edited by Eric Bentley (George W. Stewart, Inc.; $5.75).

PUBLICATION of this book points certain commonplaces; if it is not inappropriate to recall them now, that is because they were prime considerations in founding *Scrutiny* sixteen years ago and have justified its importance and determined its policies ever since.

First of all, and basic, that incapacity of the large reading public for serious literature. What this indicates is a disruption in the language itself, a deterioration of the idiom which includes the community of sentiment of which it is the record. And since, in an age of universal "literacy," the "reading" public is the *only* public, a discontinuity here imperils communication and, thus, any effective coöperative action.

One result, familiar but worth remarking, is implied in the abusive term "highbrow." In his valuable introduction to this book, Eric Bentley points out that "modern non-aristocratic society contains no class that has inherited the old culture. We have only an *intelligentsia* recruited from all classes." Which produces, of course, a particular conspicuous minority, an elite of traitors from all along the line. Mere difference is always sufficient incentive to hostility, so it is brother against brother, while the Book Clubs, the popular magazines and other entertainment rackets join the trustees of academic education to promote division and consolidate their gains.

F. R. Leavis, founder and editor of *Scrutiny*, sums up the situation when he says that "there is no public of Common Readers with whom the critic can rejoice to concur." When he adds that this public is one which "has to be created rather than addressed," he hints at the special function of the contemporary critic. But from what material is this public to be created? Scarcely from among the tired, alienated minds already mentioned, so the critic of this Dark Age has retired to the cloisters of the schools and universities where he can reach the relatively unprejudiced intelligence. This impulse has resulted during (roughly) the last two decades in a body of work which John Crowe Ransom has called the New Criticism and which Bentley suggests naming, as a more exact definition of its function, the New Pedagogy. This inclusive title may give a false impression of unanimity; actually, the work is various and complex, by a number of men in different places with different (and even conflicting) orders of value and habits of emphasis. What they share is a more or less common concern with close textual criticism.

But none of this work has been more consistently valuable than that of the group at Cambridge, headed by Dr. Leavis, which publishes *Scrutiny*. This enterprise has depended in part on lucky circumstances. It is improbable, for one thing, that the work could have been achieved in this country because we have no intellectual center like Cambridge, and the familiarity and close coöperation of consistent contributors has been essential to its success—a success which has had little to do with luxuriant acclaim. Since it was founded in 1932, *Scrutiny* has survived an extraordinarily persistent combination of abuse and neglect, on the one hand from "the academic war against contemporary poetry and literary criticism," and on the other from the very critics and reviewers who might have been expected to appreciate and support its work.

The present volume should do much to redress that. It is certainly the most impressive of the recent anthologies

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

compiled from periodicals. But more to the point, it is a remarkably complete statement (in performance) of the purposes of the magazine and a history of its achievement. The writing is a consistent delight; high seriousness is consonant with a supple grace and an incisive wit. The range of subjects included is wide, surprisingly wide within its self-imposed limitations. There is no need to reprint the table of contents, but it will suggest *Scrutiny's* close concern with contemporary literature to mention the brilliant considerations of T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden, Cyril Connolly, E. M. Forster, Joyce, Kipling, Proust, D. H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf. Most striking is the advantage—already mentioned—of the sort of symposium criticism possible to this group. (It is not that these writers share credo or method or conclusions; an exchange of views on Coleridge, for example, by Marius Bewley and D. W. Harding, shows the fruitful consequences from a statement of subtle differences.)

What these critics *do* share is an insistence on the independence of literature from other knowledges. In this connection, they claim for it only what has never been denied other subjects—recognition of standards and of the necessity for trained intelligences. A view has prevailed that literature, alone among studies, is open to anyone who can spell out the words on the page; this is both cause and result of the suspicion with which it has been and still is regarded as a subject for serious study. Which is not to say that in the dissenting view of these critics literature becomes the province of a group of licensed "experts." There is no arcana that is the private property of the professionals. Leavis has called the critic the "complete reader" and the discipline of literature he describes with deceptive modesty as "learning to read."

The work of the critic is a response to and evaluation of a work of literature as an *experience*, which he accounts for in "concrete judgments and particular analyses." From successive coherent judgments it will be possible to formulate norms—but always of *literary values*. Of course any value judgment can jump the gap to other kinds of conclusions—to universal values, say, invoked to endorse the particular choice. But this is beyond the critic's province, intrudes on philosophy, and risks what Leavis calls "queering one discipline with the habits of another." At a time when literature is suspect as frivolous, or when critics seek to borrow prestige for it from other knowledges, such as psychology or sociology, or from religion, it is just their rigorous and exclusive view of criticism which gives value and distinction to the work of the *Scrutiny* group.

George W. Stewart is to be congratulated for publishing such a handsome volume and for introducing to American readers a review always difficult to come by in this country.

JOHN FARRELLY

Crime and Punishment

Where's Mr. Chumley? by Seldon Truss (Crime Club; $2). The most enjoyable detective story of 1948 covers roughly a month in the life of Charwell, a little English village whose curate, the well-liked Mr. Chumley, has mysteriously vanished. Participating in the search for the mousy churchman is a variegated posse, including a few normal souls, a great many eccentrics, and one absolutely hideous child whose efforts can be ascribed to a simple lust for money. Mr. Chumley turns up dead, but a wonderful time has been had by all.

Year-End Roundup. The rather sad fall crime crop has yielded a few items that will serve to pass an evening: *The Steel Mirror*, by Donald Hamilton (Rinehart; $2.50); *So Cold the Night*, by Ruth L. Yorck—and did the murderer kill *one* or *two* women?—(Harpers; $2.50); *All Men Are Liars*, by John Stephen Strange (Crime Club; $2); *My Dead Wife*, by William Worley (Simon and Schuster; $2); *Voice out of Darkness*, by Ursula Curtiss (Dodd, Mead; $2.50); *Murder Can Be Fun*, by Fredric Brown (Dutton; $2.50) and *A Screen for Murder*, by E. C. R. Lorac (Crime Club; $2).

E. H.

THEATRE: Mostly Sartre

A FAIR REVIEW of "Make Way for Lucia" (at the Cort) would have something to say about E. F. Benson's stories about English suburban life in the early twentieth century from which John Van Druten made his play. I have not read E. F. Benson. A fair review would also provide an analysis of what might have been done with the script by a more happily chosen cast. I regret not to be able to offer such an analysis. I am probably the wrong audience for this show. I found it insufferably pointless and dull. Not even the pretty colors and cut of Lucinda Ballard's costumes could induce me to make way for Lucia.

Christmas Eve found me in no more charitable mood. I acknowledge that "Jenny Kissed Me" (at the Hudson) will do no one any harm, and that Leo G. Carroll is a sound actor, but it is the kind of play that could only wow them in an old-fashioned girls' school or in a community where the sight of a priest acting as unwilling guardian to a sweet young thing might be considered a merry affair.

Jean-Paul Sartre possesses that gift which enables a writer who is not really an artist (except as a critic-essayist) to turn out respectable and significant work in media—such as the short story, the novel and, particularly, the drama—to which his approach is chiefly intellectual. In other words, though Sartre is not truly a dramatist, he knows how to make a play which will serve the contemporary theatre better than some of his more highly endowed colleagues.

Sartre's plays are all philosophic

LICENSED TO UNZ:ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

melodramas. He knows the value of action in the theatre: a forceful story line which makes use of either familiar or topically exciting material. He is intelligent and observant enough to create characters that will function convincingly in the backgrounds within which he sets them. Often these characters are nothing but ideologic counters expressing themselves in a language that is like that of a rhetorical essay, as in "The Flies," or they are cartoons—half farcical journalese and half sociologic comment—as in "The Respectful Prostitute."

Sartre knows how to profit by the unstable moral condition of his audience—its potential hysteria—so that a number of symptoms can be passed off as psychological types, as in "No Exit." In any case, Sartre's characters and situations are so shrewdly selected that they strike the theatre public as acceptable realism or as understandably poetic drama, though in fact they are only tight frameworks constructed to convey a critical perception, a thesis or an attitude which by force of skill and literary agility might be called a philosophy.

Because of its mythlike abstractness, "The Flies" is, for the bookish, the most impressive of Sartre's plays; "No Exit," for Frenchmen, his most theatrical; "The Respectful Prostitute," for Americans, his most effective. For me, "Les Mains Sales" (not its Broadway distortion, "Red Gloves") is the most satisfactory. But "The Victors" ("Morts Sans Sépulture"), now being given with textual exactitude by the New Stages, is the most *actual* of all Sartre's plays. By this I mean that, unlike his other pieces, "The Victors" deals with an environment and an experience with which the French audience has had some direct connection: the struggle of the French Resistance against the Vichyite police.

What is the essence of "The Victors," as of all the other Sartre plays? Man is lost and alone, forever condemned to run anguished circles in a senseless universe unless he accepts this basic situation to emerge in a realm "on the other side of despair" where he will defy superstitions, dogmas and authorities that keep him in a bondage of fear. He can accomplish this by the exercise of his reason, his decision, his will. He must act and take responsibility for his acts. He must recognize his own uniqueness and at the same time realize the bond of a common human condition which ties him to other unique individuals. He can never achieve a conventional happiness, but only a kind of tragic and splendid freedom, a human dignity beyond tears.

The man who kills his young comrade in "The Victors" suffers a terrible sense of guilt even though the situation in which he is caught obliged him to commit the deed; the girl who is raped can hardly bear the thought of further life. But these inward states (which are themselves a kind of superstition) must not be made the meaning, the guiding force, the end of their lives. They must live with their guilt and go beyond it to further struggle in their fight for freedom—both political and moral.

Even so blunt a digest of Sartre's message is sufficient to indicate the appeal that it can have for the educated middle class of Europe and elsewhere. It confesses to the prevalent despair and promises no labeled panacea. It exhorts to action without fixing an absolute or obligatory objective. It attracts the socially conscious and even the radical without any rigid *a priori* hypothesis.

The trouble with "The Victors" as a play is that its material is too specific for the mental schematism of Sartre's method. The more we believe its characters as people the less patient we become with the playwright's heartless treatment of them. If his idea is what fascinates us, his realism—the harrowing scenes of physical torture—violates the equanimity of our judgment. Thus the play is at once superior, disturbing and unsatisfactory. For these reasons it is extremely difficult to produce. The New Stages company do it as well as they can. They deserve praise for deciding to do it at all.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MUSIC: Metropolitan Monotone

THE FIRST MONTH of the Metropolitan Opera season—one-fourth of the scheduled sixteen weeks—has passed into what may laughingly be called history. Of the 27 performances given during this period, seven could conceivably be classified as good productions, seven as indifferent, and thirteen as bad. Since two of the seven good performances were repeats, only five different operas, out of fourteen given so far, have been well done on at least one occasion. These were "Götterdämmerung" (the first of two performances; the second was a comedy of errors in the staging and lighting); "Tristan and Isolde" (good twice in succession); the one performance, out of three, of "Rigoletto" that had Lily Pons as Gilda; "La Bohème" (good twice in succession); and "Lucia di Lammermoor." Four revivals were mounted in the first month (Verdi's "Otello," Montemezzi's "L'Amore dei Tre Re," Donizetti's "L'Elisir d'Amore," and Thomas' "Mignon"). All were decidedly bad, though "L'Amore dei Tre Re" improved to the indifferent status in its two repeat performances.

I call a Metropolitan performance good when all the major roles are entrusted to people who can sing them adequately, when the staging is not downright absurd and nothing goes seriously wrong with its routines, and when orchestra, chorus and principals throw themselves into their tasks with enough spirit and confidence to achieve a reasonable portion of the effect the composer intended. More than this cannot be asked of the Metropolitan in its present financial extremity, though you are welcome to wonder whether an artistic institution deserves to be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perpetuated when it achieves a minimal standard of acceptable public presentation only about one-fourth of the time.

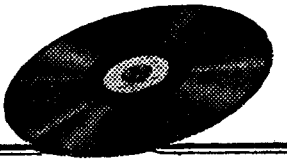
"Lucia di Lammermoor," on December 19, was an example of a good performance, according to these criteria. There are three important roles. Lily Pons, as Lucia, sang enchantingly —as well as she has at any time in the past five years; and without exactly acting, she moved about the stage in an appealing way and was suffused with a general air of pathos. Ferruccio Tagliavini, much of whose work is forced and vulgar, displayed honorable intentions toward the tenor role of Edgardo, and used his handsome voice with considerable sincerity and dramatic impact. Francesco Valentino, a utility baritone who seldom rises above mediocrity, also made surprisingly much of the unprepossessing part of Lord Henry (or Enrico) Ashton. The settings, for a wonder only a few years old, looked dignified and tasteful, and were reasonably well-lighted. The chorus sang with zip; the orchestra played crisply and energetically under Pietro Cimara, who perhaps should not be chided for lacking any imagination about phrasing and nuance. Everything looked and sounded smooth and professional, and even the ballet appeared to have rehearsed. All in all, the Metropolitan can do no better than this "Lucia" nowadays, so presumably it should be praised for it.

The opening night "Otello," on the other hand, was bad. Supplied with one of the most powerful stories in operatic literature, the principals failed to make much dramatic effect. There was no impression of ensemble playing among the leading singers; much of the time they addressed themselves to the prompter or the conductor rather than to each other. Leonard Warren, as Iago, sang very loudly but expressed little, and acted not at all, beyond a few stock postures and gesticulations. Ramon Vinay, as Otello, must have been showing some emotion in his face, since television viewers were impressed, but his body was not trained to project much emotion out to those in the audience who could not see his face, and he sang poorly, with a great many unfocused, forced tones. Licia Albanese, as Desdemona, was utterly miscast, presenting a listless figure, and singing inaudibly in the lower register and monochromatically in the higher. Fritz Busch conducted without any apparent love for the spreading melodies and flamboyant theatricalism of the score, and Herbert Graf seemingly ran out of rehearsal time with the chorus after he had finished a lively staging of the first ten minutes of the opera.

There are astoundingly few really satisfying singers at the Metropolitan this year. Thus far, the only singers of major roles who have consistently sounded first-rate, or anywhere near it, are Helen Traubel, Bidu Sayao, Lily Pons, Jussi Bjoerling, Ferruccio

WITHOUT ANY OBLIGATION

Free THIS RECORD BY:



Concert Hall Society

MERELY AS AN ENTIRELY FREE DEMONSTRATION OF THE INCOMPARABLE QUALITY OF THESE RECORDINGS

IF you are a sincere lover of fine music, we will send you, FREE, one of the Society's Limited Edition recordings. We offer this purely as a demonstration of the remarkable tone quality of these high-fidelity records. You are not obligated to return the record in any case. All we ask is that you listen to it. Only by actually hearing one of these discs *yourself* can you appreciate their extraordinary clarity and tonal beauty!

With it we will send our free brochure telling how you can be the proud possessor of the new 1948-49 series of original recordings in LIMITED EDITIONS on unbreakable "Vinylite" brand plastic — masterpieces of classic and contemporary music—first recordings available *nowhere else at any price.*

Superb Music

Timeless works of Schubert, Haydn, Bach, Brahms, Mozart, Stravinsky . . . there are 17 albums for you to choose from.

Only 3000 members can own these recordings; right now only 592 subscriptions are available. Commercial recordings go through four stages, each step involving a loss in tonal quality. But LIMITED EDITION recordings are produced *directly* from gold-sputtered masters!

The Cost Is Surprisingly Reasonable

The records come in luxurious maroon albums bearing your personal subscription number. They will soon grow into a treasured group of "collector's item" albums which only this inner circle of music lovers can possess. Yet these "custom-made" recordings cost only a few pennies more than commercial discs!

Our free brochure tells the whole interesting story. The coupon will bring it to you, together with the free demonstration record. Since only a limited number of these records is available, we suggest you send in the coupon at once. *Concert Hall Society, Inc., 250 West 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.*

261

CONCERT HALL SOCIETY, INC.
250 West 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

Please send me, without cost or any further obligation whatever, the free high-fidelity demonstration record.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tagliavini (only in "Lucia"), Kurt Baum, Jan Peerce, Leonard Warren (in "Rigoletto," not in "Otello"), and Nicola Moscona. There have been pleasant aspects about the work of Dorothy Kirsten, Licia Albanese, Virgilio Lazzari, Risë Stevens, John Brownlee, Cloe Elmo, and Giuseppe Di Stefano, but none has proved to be a completely dependable performer. It would not take long to compile quite a list of splendid artists who are not members of the Metropolitan. Ebe Stignani, Dusolina Giannini and Maria Kurenko would head mine.

The question of staging at the Metropolitan is a chapter in itself, and one I expect to deal with a month hence, in my next installment on the Metropolitan season. CECIL SMITH

RADIO: Wired for Work

GRINNING INFECTIOUSLY, a freckled puppet opens NBC Television's scheduled network programming, Mondays through Fridays, at 5:30. That's "Howdy Doody" time, and that's when life begins for any family blessed with both a television set and children.

Nothing is the same, I find, after the set has been installed and "Doody" discovered. He serves a master named Bob Smith whose smile is the warmest this side of Arthur Godfrey. There is also a clown, apparently male though inappropriately named Clarabelle, who is mute but blows a horn and sometimes plays tricks on Smith. Then there is the studio audience, which is part of the show. Penned in what is called the "peanut gallery," these connoisseurs, aged perhaps four to eleven, enjoy themselves immensely, visibly and loudly. So do their contemporaries at home.

The high spot on a given program may be a trained seal, a laughing contest between boys and girls, half a reel of an old silent movie, or a juggling act which is broken up when one of the balls squirts water in the conjuror's left eye. Whatever the act, Smith manages to combine a play upon the children's gullibility with confidence in their innate good sense. "Doody's" strings dangle without shame and Clarabelle's appearance is vapid to an adult eye. But Smith and his audience have a wonderful time, and slickness might spoil it.

After a half-hour of "Doody" comes an equal dose of "Small Fry Club" on the DuMont network. This one is not quite so popular as "Doody," but the younger set watches the animated cartoons, enjoys Bob Emery's voice, and sits entranced even when the entire period is taken up by an amateurish filming of "Hansel and Gretel" done by Columbia University undergraduates.

At 6:30, the dial is switched to CBS, where for 15 minutes superb Bunin puppets play in an over-sophisticated piece titled "Lucky Pup." The program may be intended for an older group, but the "Doody" audience cannot be torn away.

If it is Tuesday night, everyone troops back to the set at 7:30 for ABC's video version of Helen Parkhurst's adult-slanted "Child's World."

Now that I'm wired not only for old-fashioned standard radio but also for frequency modulation, television, standard records and Columbia's long-playing 33 r.p.m. records, the problem of what to review, and when, becomes acute. Listening to records, which does not rightly belong to my professional sphere, will be settled soon. Already, RCA-Victor, refusing to follow the lead of the Columbia technicians, is bringing out a record playing at a speed of 45 r.p.m. Another recording firm, presumably Mercury, is reported planning to record at still a fourth speed. When that happens, I'll trade in my phonograph's obsolete "duomatic" attachment for an autographed picture of "Howdy Doody," happy that the anarchy of free enterprise has compounded chaos and sent me back to the FM contraption when I'm in the mood for good, static-free music.

There is a lot of that fine music in my FM-listening area, but how am I going to get to hear it, much less to review it? I don't have to worry about the FM programs on stations owned by AM broadcasters. Most of them are in FM—partly as a hedge against whatever may develop as a result of television's progress, and more immediately for the sake of killing interest in it by merely duplicating their standard broadcast programs. But there are FM programs on stations devoted to that type of transmission only. Not all this is music. There are even some FM network developments that deserve attention. But television, to say nothing of rapid developments on the AM board, keeps one from the FM vineyard.

Just when broadcast criticism was by way of growing up, its tasks have been multiplied beyond the capacity of one pair of ears. As Jack Benny moves to CBS's Sunday-night spot at seven, and Horace Heidt inherits the same time on NBC, loyalties come into play—it's Lucky Strike v. Philip Morris, and one cannot possibly listen to both commercials at once.

Here is the rest of the new Sunday-night schedule on these networks:

7:30: Phil Harris-Alice Faye on NBC; Amos 'n' Andy on CBS.

8: Fred Allen on NBC (a half-hour earlier than formerly, in the defunct Charlie McCarthy time); "Adventures of Sam Spade" on CBS.

8:30: At this writing, NBC's planners have not decided how to fill this peak spot; "Life with Luigi" on CBS.

"Stop the Music" on ABC still battles Fred Allen, but his popularity (Hooper) rating may rise in the earlier period because the big giveaway program usually picks up listeners as its full hour progresses. Walter Winchell still holds the nine o'clock spot on ABC, but his new sponsor is Kaiser-Frazer, and the deal seems to be headed for television. Soon one may have to review not only Winchell the voice but Winchell the look. This is getting to be hard work. SAUL CARSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOVIES

Fair to Maudlin

SOME OF THE concocted lyricism of the slums that hangs over from the heyday of Clifford Odets mars, but does not spoil, "Force of Evil," the best crook drama of the year. The picture proves again what should never have needed proof: that there is nothing like a combination of excellent acting, direction and photography to provide an evening's entertainment. Even with as hackneyed a story as preoccupies "Force of Evil" it will be palatable.

In this instance, John Garfield and Thomas Gomez play the opposing leads. They are two of the most vivid and intelligent of today's screen actors and here they flash at each other with tremendous effect. They develop their personalities with honest and ingenious details; they whip excitement into an old recipe. Garfield and Gomez are backed by an excellent cast and by a newcomer named Beatrice Pearson. She has the good sense to be plain and tired in a world of strapping beauty queens, and thereby looks like flesh and blood. Unfortunately, the Odets flavor is strongest in her crucial scenes with Garfield.

The director is Abraham Polonsky, who also, with Ira Wolfert, adapted the picture from Wolfert's novel, *Tucker's People.* I cannot tell now just how Polonsky got his effects (if I could I'd suspect he had been obtrusive) but the action seemed to strike its blows at twice the normal projection speed. A share of this intensity and force must be credited to George Barnes's photography. The New York scenes (Wall Street at midnight, the East Side slums, the little lighthouse under the George Washington Bridge) come out as freshly beautiful as though the city had never been photographed before. The camera angles are exciting and suggestive without being arty; the melodramatic sequences are frightening. There is a minimum of camera trickiness and a maximum of good picture taking.

"Force of Evil" is about the numbers racket and about the love-hate of two brothers involved in it. Except for some clinical details on the operation of a policy bank and except as a vehicle for some of the most professional conduct the screen has seen in months, the narrative framework is not important. If it were, "Force of Evil" might have been a great picture instead of just a pastime.

There is one good thing to be said for Sam Goldwyn's "Enchantment": it gives you fair warning. The picture opens on the façade of a fine old London house which begins immediately to reminisce in a rather fruity voice about the lives and loves its old walls have seen. Within three minutes you know precisely what is in store and you can leave courteously before the nose-blowing becomes general.

The story, adapted from Rumer Godden's *Take Three Tenses,* develops along two interwoven time sequences, so whenever the camera pauses to inspect a fireplace or an old clock be prepared to jump sixty years backward or forward. The Victorian lovers are David Niven and Teresa Wright (a bold Guardsman and a winsome orphan); the up-to-date couple are Farley Granger and Evelyn Keyes (a hard-headed pair who none the less are wracked like willows by the tempests of the heart). The first romance is blighted by Jayne Meadows, a villainess on loan from the Eden Musée; the second couple are driven by an opportune air raid into each other's sheltering arms. Niven, so dashing in the early scenes that he invariably takes stairs two at a time, bridges the decades by appearing in snowy wig and grease paint as a terrible example to the modern lovers. This masquerade, in which he looks strikingly like a wax image of Mark Twain, is the worst example of cosmetic aging the movies have shown in years. But then the whole film is as synthetic as a bakery-window wedding cake.

ROBERT HATCH

STAGE PLAY

..."A PLAY WITH POLISH AND VIEWPOINT."... —Chapman, News.

MICHAEL KANIN in association with ALDRICH & MYERS presents

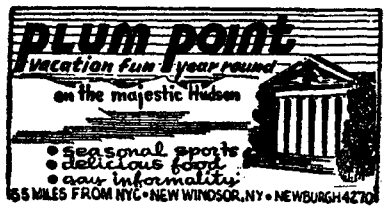
MADELEINE CARROLL in GOODBYE, MY FANCY

A New Comedy by FAY KANIN with CONRAD NAGEL • SHIRLEY BOOTH and SAM WANAMAKER

Directed by MR. WANAMAKER

MOROSCO W. 45th St. Evs. 8.40. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

RESORT


PLUM POINT
vacation fun 1 year round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• easy informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

BOOKS

SIDNEY KRAMER BOOKS 1722 H Street N W Washington 6 D C Telephone: EXecutive 3070 Cable: Opleasant. Carries a substantial stock of Imported and Domestic Works of Reference, Economics, Politics, Geography, International Affairs, History, Atlases and Technology. Can easily supply any book noted in this issue. Mails Anywhere in the World.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES — Popular brands; minimum 5 cartons. Price $1.50 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. King Co., Box 569-B, Dover, Delaware.

LABELS

500 GUMMED LABELS with name, address, and telephone number, $1.00 College Service, Box 7254, Pittsburgh, Pa.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational method. Save time, work, money. Linguaphone Correspondence Courses are available to Veterans under G. I. BILL OF RIGHTS. Send for FREE book. State if G. I. Linguaphone Institute, 86 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

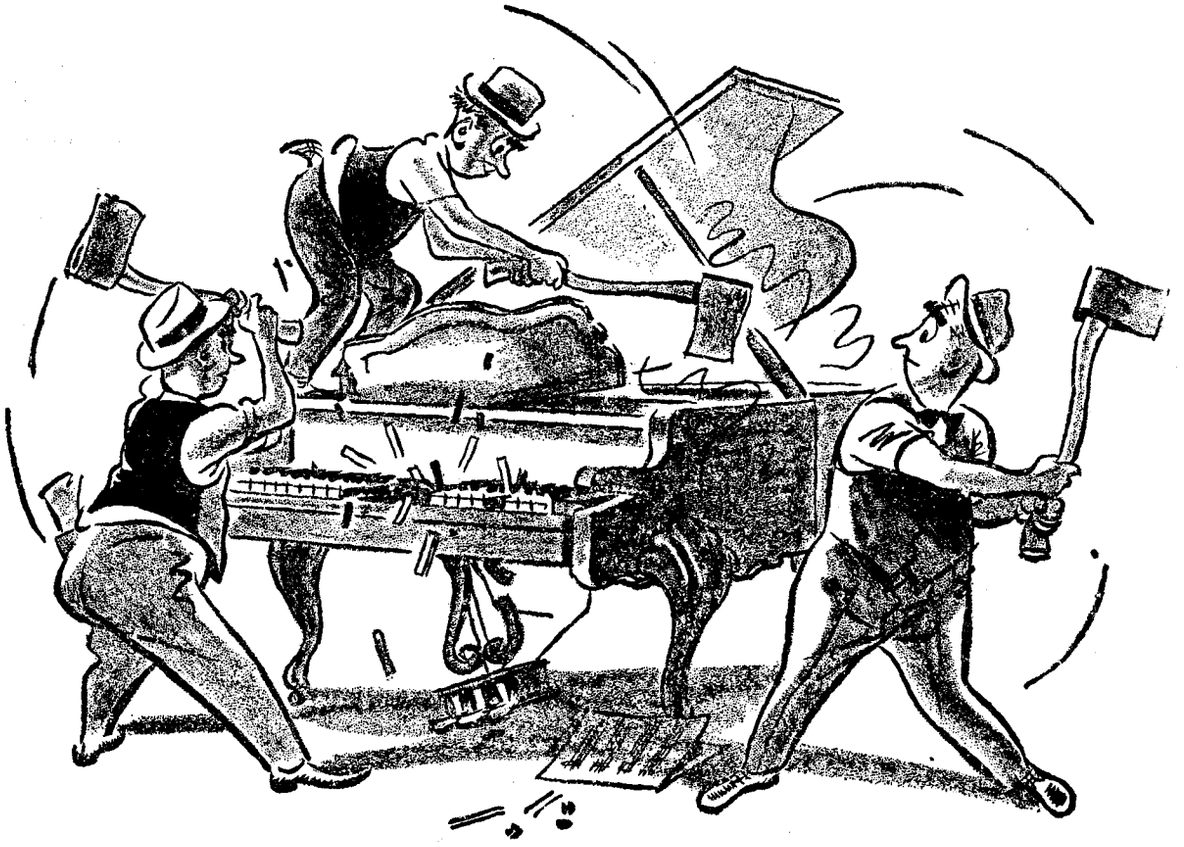
29 LANGUAGES BY RECORDS. NEW, USED, SOLD, RENTED. ALL MAKES. Free catalog. Ship anywhere. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City. RH 4-3624 or MU 3-1093.

POSITION WANTED

ARTS EXECUTIVE AVAILABLE: Outstanding record theatre, film production, excellent cultural background. Seeking position requiring management, programming, public relations, leadership with cultural, philanthropic or educational organization, or agency representing this type organization. Resume on request. Address: Box 160, The New Republic.

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



How to tune a piano!

The piano's out of tune. So we'll chop it up. Then we'll get a tin horn instead.

Sure, these men are crazy.

But they're using the same kind of thinking a lot of people have been using on the American economic system lately.

Our American way isn't perfect. We still have our ups and downs of prices and jobs. We'll have to change that. But even so, our system works a lot better than the second-rate substitutes being peddled by some countries we could mention.

It works better because of a few simple things. We are more inventive, and we know how to use machine power to produce more goods at lower cost. We have more skilled workers than any other country. We believe in collective bargaining and enjoy its benefits. And we Americans save—and our savings go into new tools, new plants, new and better machines.

Because of this, we produce more every working hour . . . and can *buy* more goods with an hour's work than any other people in the world.

We can make the system work *even better*, too: by *all* of us working *together* to turn out more for every hour we work—through better machines and methods, more power, greater skills, and by sharing the benefits through higher wages, lower prices, shorter hours.

It's a *good* system. It can be made *better*. And even now it beats anything that any other country in the world has to offer.

So—*let's tune it up, not chop it down.*

Want to help? Mail this!

I want to help.

I know that higher wages, lower prices, shorter hours and larger earnings can all result from producing more goods for every hour all of us work.

Therefore, I will ask myself how I can work more effectively every hour I am on the job, whether I am an employee, an employer, a professional man or a farmer.

I will encourage those things which help us produce more and add to everyone's prosperity—things like greater use of mechanical power, better machines, better distribution and better collective bargaining.

I will boost the good things in our set-up, and help to get rid of the bad.

I will try to learn all I can about why it is that Americans have more of the good things of life.

Please send me your free booklet, "The Miracle of America," which explains clearly and simply, how a still better living can be had for all, if we all work together.

A message prepared by
THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL
a non-profit organization supported by labor, business and the public
Published in the Public Interest by
GENERAL ELECTRIC

Public Policy Committee
The Advertising Council, Inc.
11 West 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

Name_____

Address_____

Occupation_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATE of the UNION

★

A PROGRAM FOR LIBERAL AMERICA

★ ★ NEW REPUBLIC, JAN. 10, 1949, IN TWO PARTS: PART TWO ★ ★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the mandate

what does this mandate embrace?

NOW THAT the pre-election soothsayers and the post-election explainers have had their say, the time has come for the people's democratically elected repesentatives to carry out the people's will. Was this a victory for liberalism and a defeat of reaction? Perish the name calling. Let's be on our way to make America a finer example to all the world as a better place in which to live.

★

IN HIS MESSAGES to the 80th Congress, both in regular and special session, and in his campaign addresses, the President made the issues crystal-clear. The people gave him a vote of confidence on those issues. Among the vitally important legislative proposals on which action is demanded by the people are the following:

1. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.
2. Amend upwards the legal minimum wage.
3. Modernize the Social Security Act.
4. Adequate, realistic health legislation.
5. Adequate housing legislation.
6. Anti-inflation legislation.
7. Economic security for the American farmer and national security through conservation of natural resources and regional development.
8. Equitable tax legislation based on the principle of ability to pay, including excess profits tax.

LET US GO FORWARD in a new faith that democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people and make America a more impressive example of that which we recommend for other people.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, A. F. WHITNEY, *President*

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN • 1528 STANDARD BUILDING, CLEVELAND, OHIO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATE of the UNION

A PROGRAM FOR LIBERAL AMERICA

AMERICANS HAVE DETERMINED that our democracy shall advance toward new goals. They have asserted that the prevention of poverty, disease and ignorance is as much a responsibility of representative government as the prevention of crime; that the nature of a man's beliefs is the concern of a man's own conscience; that the color of a man's skin shall be of no more significance than the color of his eyes.

Americans have affirmed that in our new concept of democracy, economic well-being, social justice and political liberty contribute equally and inseparably to man's fulfillment. They have recognized that only this concept of democracy, as it applies to all citizens, can win the peoples of the world and so unite the world for peace.

Americans have confirmed these principles:

Every man has the right to equal opportunity.

Every man has the right to social security.

Every man has the right to a decent home.

Every man has the right to a proper education.

Every man has the right to good medical care.

Every man has the right to a job at fair pay.

Every man has the right to equal participation in government.

The 81st Congress was elected to give these rights the force of law. If it keeps its pledge to the voters, these rights, so long denied, will be won for all Americans this year, as part of their daily bread.

At the same time we have undertaken to help provide the daily bread of others. Our stake in world freedom and welfare makes continued full employment both a right for Americans and a commitment to the world.

For we are setting out on the greatest tasks ever faced by Americans in time of peace. We intend, simultaneously, to rearm Western Europe and ourselves; to provide the resources needed for world recovery; to build new hospitals, clinics, schools and dams for our own welfare; and to protect our consumers against the higher prices which shortages cause. We haven't enough nails, or ingots, or doctors, or railway cars when all these demands are added up. If we let these needs compete blindly against each other, if we let our output go to the highest bidder, if we squander our scarce resources in unemployment, waste and nonessential production, if we fail to provide for rapidly expanding production, then we are lost.

No welfare measures alone can provide the increased production that we need, or the assurance of permanent full employment. Broad action by government is necessary, in public investment and support of purchasing power, if industry with its tremendous productivity is to be assured that its increased production will find ample and profitable markets. Our purpose is not to dig in for depression, but to obtain a continuing rise in production and living standards; to formulate our goals in national production; to work together as a nation to reach those goals; to attain them by whatever action is needed.

The objectives we have set for America are within our productive power. They require national planning to assure both full employment and the right kind of employment of our resources. Americans want welfare programs, not to ease future depression but to overcome present poverty. They want the housing industry diverted by compulsion to low-cost construction because, although the profit is less, the need is greater. In place of peak private investment one year and none in time of depression, they want a steady level of private investment that industry can sustain.

The shortages that challenge us are not the end of an era of reconversion but the beginning of an era of national planning. The controls by which we deal with them are not makeshifts but the proper instruments of public policy, since supplies of manpower and materials will always be less than the demands which we recognize for goods and services.

We need an integrated program now, in which the direction of our resources is considered together with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the demands upon them, and the expansion of our capacity to produce is as important an objective for Congress as social security and minimum wages.

The program outlined in this supplement is not an ideal program. It is the practical, immediate program voted by the majority, which they have the right to expect.

It is for the Administration to present some such program to Congress. It is for Congress to act. There is no necessary reason for congressional delay. There are separate committees of the Senate and House which are able to hold simultaneous hearings and to report out within weeks most of the measures proposed here.

The congressional bottlenecks are self-made barriers to legislation. As long as the sworn enemies of our program hold key committee positions, as long as the majority party lacks the means of self-discipline, Congress is not free. Democracy does not mean the dictation of a minority in or out of Congress. It means majority rule, and the right of the minority, by due process, to become the majority. Before Congress can strengthen democracy it needs to democratize itself.

It is for the majority which elected Congress to hold it to its pledges, refusing to be diverted by witch-hunting, hysteria and fear. We are the majority; it is for us to think as the majority and act as the majority; to liberate ourselves from the conditioning of years of retreat; to spring out of the foxholes prepared for a long winter night; to press on toward the goal of a better America in a peaceful world.

★ A FREE AMERICA ★

THE LIBERAL VICTORY OF 1948 was won with the lives of some Americans.

In March, when the Democratic state primaries were imminent, the Ku Klux Klan marched through the streets of Georgia. Grand Dragon Green threatened that if Negroes sought to vote, "blood will flow."

In Montgomery County, Georgia, just one colored American, Isaiah Nixon, sought to vote. A group of men warned him to turn back. He voted. A few days later, as Nixon stood with his wife and six children beside him, two men killed him. "Nixon approached us as if he had a gun in his pocket," one of the men explained to an all-white jury. It acquitted them after a brief deliberation. Nixon's family fled in terror from their home.

In Columbia, South Carolina, where the white primary was invalidated by the Supreme Court, the Reverend Archie Ware, sixty-six years old, cast his vote. Two men clubbed him, stabbed him and left him for dead while two policemen looked on.

In Toombs County, Georgia, haunted by the Klan, Robert Mallard, a prosperous Negro among poor whites, bought a new car. Driving his new car home from church, with his wife and child, on the night of November 20, he was stopped, shot several times, and killed by a band of men in white robes. Sheriff Robert Gray called Mallard "a biggety nigger" and arrested Mallard's wife for his murder as she left the burial service. Belatedly, the state has acted.

"There are times," says the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "when the difference between what we preach about civil rights and what we practise is shockingly illustrated by individual outrages. There are times when the whole structure of our ideology is made ridiculous by individual instances. And there are certain continuing, quiet, omnipresent practices which do irreparable damage to our beliefs."

Concerned over the "dry rot" caused by lack of democracy, the committee proposed a broad program to secure the civil rights of all Americans. The President sent the program to the 80th Congress. The 80th Congress buried it.

But the program lived to dominate the 1948 election.

Quick to place all the blame upon the Dixiecrats, the Republicans promised to press for immediate passage in the 81st Congress of legislation to abolish the poll tax, prohibit lynching and end discrimination in jobs and in the armed forces.

The Democratic Party, to whose platform all Democrats in Congress are committed, promised to guarantee by legislation of the 81st Congress:

The right of full and equal political participation—by abolition of the poll tax and all other barriers to voting.

The right to equal opportunity of employment—by passage of a federal FEPC.

The right of security of person—by passage of the anti-lynching bill and the strengthening of the civil-rights statutes.

The right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation—by the abolition of all discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

That program won the election. Now some "Democrats" maintain that it did not mean what it meant. President Truman says: "We were elected on specific pledges and those pledges will be carried out."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Right of Full and Equal Political Participation

The President asked Congress first for legislation forbidding interference by public officers and private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in any election involving federal officers. This means so-called literacy tests, placing ballot boxes in private homes of white people, requiring a prospective registrant to have two persons "vouch" for him, and threats of violence and acts of violence such as the beating up of V. V. Carter by a mob in Montgomery County, Georgia, for driving Negroes to the polls in his automobile. Today, protection of Americans from these actions is beyond the power of the federal government, although the right to vote is basic in our democracy.

In seven states the poll tax remains the major barrier to a large vote. In the 1948 elections 59 percent of the voting population voted in the non-poll-tax states. An average of 32 percent voted in the four Southern states in which the poll tax has been repealed—Florida, 39 percent; Georgia, 22 percent; Louisiana, 28 percent; and North Carolina, 39 percent. An average of only 23 percent of the eligible voters cast ballots in the seven poll-tax states. The individual percentages in these states were: Alabama, 14 percent; Arkansas, 22; Mississippi, 17; South Carolina, 14; Tennessee, 30; Texas, 27; and Virginia, 24 percent.

The anti-poll-tax bill is short and simple. It prohibits the collection of any poll tax as a prerequisite to voting for any federal office. Those who live by small votes are talking of no legislation and hoping for nothing more than a constitutional amendment, requiring ratification by three-fourths of the states.

The Right to Equal Opportunity of Employment

The Committee on Civil Rights found widespread job discrimination throughout America. The President proposed legislation creating a Fair Employment Practices Commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and professional groups, and government agencies and employment bureaus.

Four states—New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut—have proved that a Fair Employment Practices Commission with statutory powers can curb discrimination. Bills based on their experience were killed with barely a protest in the 80th Congress. The "moderates" are working to eliminate the FEPC altogether as part of a bargain on a "minimum acceptable program." The FEPC faces the hardest fight of all civil-rights legislation.

The Right to Security of Person

The Committee on Civil Rights proposed first that the outworn statutes of the Criminal Code be strengthened to cover acts of violence committed by individuals as well as groups. It proposed that the seven-man Civil Rights section of the Department of Justice assigned to protect civil liberties, be given adequate staff and authority. These reforms are more than ever needed as threats of violence increase.

"Lynching," the Committee on Civil Rights continued, "is the ultimate threat by which his inferior status is driven home to the Negro. As a terrorist device it reinforces all the other disabilities placed upon him.

"The threat of lynching," the committee goes on, "always hangs over the head of the Southern Negro: the knowledge that a misinterpreted word or action can lead to death is a dreadful burden.

"The communities in which lynchings occur tend to condone the crime," the committee adds. "Punishment of lynchers is not accepted as the responsibility of the state or local governments in those communities."

Today the government is powerless either to prevent lynching or to enforce justice against lynchers. The power resides in the states, and they will not use their power. Legislation which attempts to force the states to act is useless. Lynching can be stopped only by legislation directed against the lynchers, making participation in an act of violence against citizens because of race or color a federal crime punishable by heavy sentence. This legislation derives its novel power of direct sanction against individuals from Article 55 of the United Nations Charter, and from the historic inability of the states alone to act.

Blind to recent outrages, a few maintain that legislation is unnecessary because the days of lynching are gone. Leslie Perry, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, concedes that the days of rope and faggot, frenzied mobs and bodies dragged

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through the streets are over. "The technique has changed," he says. "Today the terrorists operate in small bands with secrecy and dispatch. Every year many Negroes simply disappear."

The Right to Equality in the Armed Forces

"Prejudice endangers world peace," the Army preaches to its recruits. "The armed forces in actual practice maintain many barriers to equal treatment for all their members," reported the Committee on Civil Rights. It recommended legislation, followed by executive order, to end *all* discrimination and segregation in *all* services.

The Selective Service Administration has complied with this recommendation. It sends recruits on to the services without any label of black or white; the Army and Air Force promptly pin on the label.

In wartime, naval policy permitted two Negroes among 8,000 naval officers. Now in the Navy recruits are processed without regard for race or color; they bunk together in the same shore installations and all ratings are open to all members of the Navy.

The Army directs its recruits for processing through camps marked black and white. It maintains segregation below the battalion level: the level where men meet. The Air Force is not much better.

In the National Guard and the reserves Negro veterans cannot serve unless they can form their own units. That is because Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall, of South Carolina, is insisting on a uniform national policy for all state units, cut to Southern cloth. Some Northern states none the less have formed non-segregated forces. And they must be encouraged, either by a national policy based on the Constitution and the practices of the majority of the states, or on a state-by-state basis. This is for the President and Royall to settle, since Secretary of Defense Forrestal lacks the power. The added authority of congressional action is needed in amendments to the appropriation bills.

By huffing and puffing the Dixiecrats intend to prevent action on the civil-rights bills until the closing hours of Congress, when they will be bypassed in the rush to enact necessary appropriations and adjourn.

Their weapon in this hold-up is the filibuster, with which they have kept full democracy out of the South for thirty years.

Both parties have pledged the early democratization of Congress. Majority rule in the House means expanding the membership of key committees to make them representative of the nation's will, and at the same time curbing their power to obstruct. Majority rule in the Senate demands revision, by majority vote, of the rules to permit cloture on any matter before the Senate by a majority of those present.

Civil-rights legislation was first in the minds of many voters. It will be last on the congressional agenda if the Dixiecrats get their way. While the timing of civil-rights legislation in the first session of the 81st Congress should be subordinated to the interest of the entire program; these steps must be taken to prevent minority dictation:

A revision of the Senate rules at the opening of the 81st Congress.

A declaration now that the 81st Congress will be held in session until the full civil-rights program is made law.

★ A UNITED AMERICA ★

UNITY IN A DEMOCRACY requires the achievement, with the assistance of representative government, of those basic conditions and values which lead free citizens to live side by side in peace. For labor, this means observance of labor's right to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing.

In his State of the Union message two years ago the President said, "We must not, in order to punish a few labor leaders, pass vindictive laws which will restrict the proper rights of the rank and file of labor." Overriding his advice, Congress did exactly that.

It enacted the Taft-Hartley law which set up new regulations for collective bargaining. The regulations restricted labor but not management.

The hard-won equality which labor had achieved in the last twenty years vanished and labor was forced to sit down at the bargaining table as a suppliant rather than as an equal. Red tape tangled normal union operations. The closed shop was banned. Anti-labor injunctions came back from the limbo of pre-New Deal times. An attempt even was made to prevent labor organizations from expressing political opinions and participating in election campaigns.

Vindication, or total rejection of the Taft-Hartley Act, was the greatest single issue of the 1948 campaign. Its total rejection by the electorate furnished the year's greatest demonstration. Eighty Representatives who voted for the law were defeated. Not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one who opposed it failed to be reëlected. The Democratic Party won because of its unequivocal pledge: "We advocate the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act."

That pledge is one of the easiest a Democratic majority can redeem in the 81st Congress. Repeal is needed rather than amendment because T-H is based on the principle of tying labor's hands, hampering its normal operations and preventing its evolution as a political and economic entity within the democratic system. The Act was so badly drawn that even now, after 18 months of existence, its actual content is not fully understood by experts. Many clauses are subject to varied interpretations and labor rightfully fears some clauses would be even more dangerous in time of depression. The Act must be repealed before any of its principles or details become imbedded in law.

After repeal comes full restoration of the Wagner Act, often described as "Labor's Magna Carta." Much of the Wagner Act was nullified by passage of Taft-Hartley and therefore would be inoperative unless specifically restored by congressional action. Whether this is done as part of the repealer motion or in a separate vote does not matter as long as it is done quickly. Collective bargaining will then be kept in existence, with legal sanction, while labor, management and government discuss further reforms.

Though labor is adamant in rejecting T-H as it now stands, it is not opposed to *every* provision in the Act. Some provisions were basically sound and should be incorporated into new legislation after the Wagner Act is restored. One is the requirement that labor unions be financially accountable. This is to the advantage of labor itself as well as the public and industry. Financial accountability is bound to make for responsible behavior.

Secondary boycotts also should be controlled by law, but not by such an outright ban as was imposed by Taft-Hartley. The President already has made a clear distinction between good and bad secondary boycotts, those which are valid labor weapons and those which are an unwarranted imposition on the public. Broadly, if the purpose of a secondary boycott is to give further effectiveness to a valid strike over wages or working conditions, then it comes within labor's just rights. But if its purpose is to bring pressure to bear in a jurisdictional strike, then labor has no right to interfere with public business while threshing out its own troubles. The internal disputes of labor cannot be settled at public expense.

In disputes between labor and management the National Labor Relations Board remains the best instrument for settlement, though its procedures and administration have become unnecessarily tangled in red tape. Here, the Taft-Hartley Act made one change worthy of retention, the separation of the judicial and prosecuting functions of the NLRB. The independent status given the Board's General Counsel increased industry's confidence that disputes would not be prosecuted and judged by the same persons.

Unfortunately, this separation also has entailed some administrative practices which slow down NLRB operations and add considerable confusion. The findings of trial examiners, for instance, often vary in different parts of the country even though the same issues are being considered. Such cases are slow in reaching the NLRB for final adjudication, and in the interim both labor and management must abide by conflicting findings. Elimination of Taft-Hartley will correct some inconsistencies, but a general simplification and coordination of NLRB procedures are urgently needed for the sake of industrial peace.

On the matter of mandatory cool-off periods before strikes can be called, labor itself is not unanimous. The Railway Brotherhoods are inclined to retain some form of cool-off such as is required by the National Railway Labor Act. But most of the rest of labor finds that cool-off periods fail in their proclaimed aim of lessening strikes and giving mediators more time to seek a settlement.

A recent experience helped to convince most of labor that cool-offs do not work. When atomic-plant workers at Oak Ridge last summer ran into an obdurate management stand against wage increases, they started the cool-off procedure. The President was formally notified of the existence of the dispute. He appointed a fact-finding board and the Attorney General obtained a 60-day anti-strike injunction. Negotiations during that time continued to be fruitless. When the injunction expired, employees entered on a second, 15-day, period for voting on the employer's "final" wage offer. The offer was turned down. All that remained was for the President within five days to inform Congress what had occurred. Then the workers could strike. Management raised its offer. The workers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accepted and the strike was averted at the last moment. The cool-off had merely given management time to delay real bargaining.

Mandatory cool-offs presuppose that strikes are called by power-hungry union leaders without consulting their rank and file. Experience has shown otherwise. Strikes are a powerful labor weapon but they are also a dangerous one. Labor knows better than anyone else the suffering that strikes cause workers. Labor also knows the political dangers of offending public opinion, and therefore uses its weapon sparingly.

Such an artificial limitation of the strike weapon as delaying its use by the mandatory cool-off has also had some other unexpected results. Unions have been inclined to file notice of intention to strike even when they had no such intention. The filing merely became part of contract negotiations. Without filing, unions were powerless to strike, and employers, aware of this, could—and did—act tough. In order to regain use of their most potent economic weapon—the right to strike—unions were forced to resort to filing strike notices even when they did not want to.

A further evil of the cool-off is that it forces government into labor-management relations in the wrong ways and at the wrong times. Healthy relations between labor and management entail a minimum of government involvement in specific disputes. Its best role is to help in the development of fair labor practices and in the continuous formulation, in a conference of labor, management and consumers, of the underlying principles and standards concerning fair distribution of the national income on which good contract negotiations are based.

To fulfil this role government needs an authoritative Department of Labor. To rebuild the Department from the ruins left by the 80th Congress is an important task of the 81st Congress.

The Conciliation and Mediation Service, turned into an independent agency by the 80th, should be returned to the Department; so should the United States Employment Service. The Department needs to be strengthened by restoring and expanding its facilities for collecting and disseminating economic information. It was not until the 80th Congress slashed those services that industry itself understood their value.

When this is done the Labor Department will be able to bring proper consideration to the problems of 35 million families in the councils of the government.

★ A HEALTHY AMERICA ★

IMPROVING NATIONAL HEALTH

EVERY MAN has the right to decent medical care. One in five Americans enjoys that right today.

Medical care is inadequate. Forty million Americans live today in communities without full-time health services. Forty percent of the counties of America, with 15 million citizens, have no hospitals at all. We have 30,000 fewer doctors than are needed for adequate care. We have just half the acceptable hospital beds that we need. As a result, 325,000 Americans die each year whom we have the knowledge and skill to save. One-third of our deaths from cancer, a fast-growing killer, could be prevented by prompt diagnosis and treatment.

Medical care is too costly. The days of the small black bag containing all prescriptions is over. The training of doctors is lengthened; the supplementary technical services they need are greater; the equipment required for diagnosis and therapy is elaborate. Lengthy and advanced treatments are known and needed as life savers; costs in a modern hospital may be $20 a day, leading to bills of $1,000 and more for illness or accident that no family can avoid or anticipate and that a fraction of American families can afford. For at the same time, 40 million Americans are without financial reserves of any kind today. Sixty-five million Americans, in families earning less than $3,000 a year, cannot afford even routine medical care. Serious illness is a financial disaster from which many families may never fully recover.

Medical care is uneven. Today four percent of the pediatricians in America serve 60 percent of our children in rural areas. There are just one-third as many doctors per person in Mississippi as in New York. Americans may be born equal. Ninety-five in every hundred born in Massachusetts are born in hospitals attended by physicians; for Negroes in South Carolina, the proportion is one in ten.

If we believe that adequate medical care should be available equally to all Americans, then, given these conditions of over-all inadequacy of medical care, a widespread maldistribution and a general inability to pay, a national health program is urgent and must be based on these principles:

It must provide for a rapid increase of total medical services.

It must provide for maximum effectiveness by group

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

practice and the closest coördination of all services in the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness.

It must be financed principally by compulsory national health insurance.

It must be planned in long-range terms. A long-range program has been formulated by the government. It plans by 1960 to add 600,000 new hospital beds; to double the number of medical graduates each year; to expand federal research, psychiatric treatment and rehabilitation service. It contains every aspect of a needed program; its objectives can be adopted by enactment of the National Health Bill presented to Congress by Senators Wagner and Murray and Representative Dingell.

The bill serves substantially *all* Americans. Those who cannot be insured because of lack of savings receive the services offered by the program whenever their contributions are made by a public agency.

It provides *all* services necessary to prevent, diagnose and cure disease, including specialized treatments, eyeglasses, and dental care and home nursing wherever facilities are available.

It is financed by a contribution of 1.5 percent of earnings up to $3,600; this sum is matched by the employer. The federal government makes up the difference between the cost of the services and the insurance premiums collected. Physicians are paid from the insurance fund, by methods which they choose and according to fees agreed upon with local authorities. Voluntary health-insurance plans are repaid for the services which they continue to provide.

The bill provides freedom of choice. Doctors are free to join or not to join the program. Patients are free to choose their family physician, hospital, dentist and nurse. Doctors are free to reject patients.

The program is administered by representative local committees, or by officers aided by advisory committees, these local, state and national committees include professional and lay members. Strictly medical matters are left to the physicians.

To defeat this program, one lobby alone, the National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, spent $353,990 in the first nine months of 1948. The American Medical Association is raising a $3.5 million war chest to lobby against the bill. Charges of "dictatorship" and "bureaucracy" were made against every vital measure of the New Deal. Cries of "Socialism!" were raised by the National Association of Manufacturers against social security, now accepted as basic in American life. All these old cries are raised now against the health program.

Yet the only alternative offered to the program is the extension of voluntary, non-profit insurance plans. These plans are good and are encouraged by the National Health Bill. They cannot possibly replace a national government-operated system. They are far too costly; they are limited in coverage; they meet only part of the cost of services; they make no real provision for preventive treatment. Yet even the extension of these programs is rejected by the AMA, which has blocked them by restrictions on coöperative enterprises in many states.

BUILDING BETTER HOMES

EVERY MAN has the right to a decent home. The five million families that live in slums, shacks and firetraps; the two million families that live doubled up; the ten million additional families in homes without minimum standards of decency lack this basic right of citizenship today.

To obtain that right for all Americans is the purpose of a long-range-housing program. One such program, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, Congress considered for three years. It was a compromise measure, drawn to win the support of the Republican majority. Its liberal features were inadequate. Its sections aiding mortgage companies and private builders were enacted by the 80th Congress in a lopsided and unsatisfactory form. Meanwhile the needs of Americans compounded, raising the objectives of adequate housing legislation.

For these reasons new, comprehensive housing legislation is needed today. The over-all purpose of realistic legislation is to provide, each year, for the next 10 years, 1.5 million units of the right kind of housing, at the right price, and in the right place.

New housing is falling 500,000 units short of this goal each year. It is beyond the reach of 80 percent of Americans; it is concentrated in a few urban areas; it is multiplying the worst aspects of cities, and the prevalence of slums; most of it is poorly designed and badly built.

It follows that the purposes of federal housing legislation are these:

To provide public housing for low-income groups.

To increase private construction of low-cost urban and rural housing.

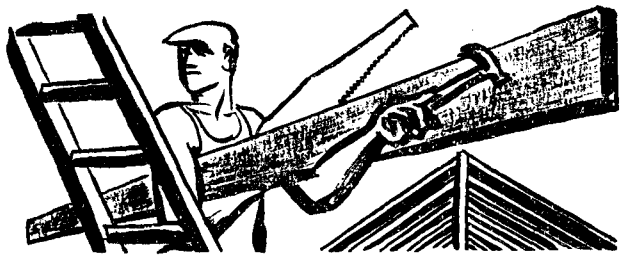
To aid cities in slum clearance and modernization.

To build better homes.

Public housing, built by local agencies with federal assistance, was first authorized in 1937. It proved itself until building costs soared above the ceilings set for public construction and killed the program.

Public construction of emergency housing for veter-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ans was authorized after the war. Once again, inflated costs and material shortages caused by the demands of non-essential construction killed the program after controls were abolished.

A public housing program, providing for 500,000 units in four years, was included in the T-E-W bill and was the main reason why the lobbies induced Congress to kill this measure. Yet this program, restricted once more by renewed ceilings on costs, was already throttled by inflation. The bill placed a limit of $1,250 a room on the cost of new housing in cities under 500,000; and ceilings of $1,500 a room in larger cities. The unit costs of new construction in metropolitan areas was $2,600 a room in late 1948. This widening gap led Senator Taft to abandon his own bill.

A further weakness in the bill is its insistence on a gap of at least 20 percent between the upper rental limits for proposed public housing and the lowest rentals offered by commercial housing units. This gap places government authority behind a guarantee that for millions of Americans neither public nor private housing will be available.

The public housing section of an adequate law would include these provisions:

Construction of a minimum of 800,000 urban units and 200,000 rural non-farm units over a four-year period; with powers granted to the President to accelerate both programs.

Elimination of all cost limitations, and the substitution of a simple requirement that the Public Housing Administrator ensure that approved costs are no higher than costs for comparable housing facilities in each community.

Abolition of all mandatory gaps between the rentals of public and commercial housing units.

Low-cost urban housing, built by private contractors, has been assisted by federal government financing for 14 years. In the absence of direct controls this assistance has been inadequate to divert housing from high-cost luxury projects to low-cost rental housing.

The T-E-W bill proposed to increase this government assistance by liberalizing government-insured first mortgages; underwriting the secondary-mortgage market; and guaranteeing an adequate return on direct investments by large concerns in low-cost rental housing projects for families with moderate incomes.

Most of these proposals were enacted by the 80th Congress. As incentives to voluntary action they are still inadequate.

Further to increase the effectiveness of existing government aids requires radical amendments to the regulations of the principal government mortgage agencies. These amendments would bring about longer amortization and lower interest rates on government and government-insured mortgages; they would raise the ceilings on the costs of builder-financed homes which the government can underwrite; they would give the government authority to engage in direct purchase of secondary mortgages and increase its power to reduce inflated capital costs on the homes it underwrites.

Yet the effect of these amendments would be no more than to offset the pressure for increased interest rates and shorter amortization periods which inflation brought about.

There are millions of American families who cannot qualify for public housing and who cannot afford FHA housing at its present average rental of $80 a month. These families remain doubled up, or in slums, or dangerously overextended with high mortgages that their incomes cannot sustain. They temporarily achieve minimum standards of shelter at the expense of minimum standards of food and other essentials.

For these families a new type of government financing is necessary; long-term, low-interest loans, made directly by a special federal agency to local authorities, coöperatives, limited-dividend corporations and other groups or individuals, for low-cost housing built under fixed rental and sale regulations. In this way, rents or carrying charges on new construction can be cut by 20 percent and more.

Low-cost rural housing was well provided for in the T-E-W bill, which authorized 33-year loans to farm families at interest of not more than four percent, and and also limited subsidies. These provisions belong in any new legislation.

Urban redevelopment was well provided for in T-E-W by federal aid to local authorities for slum clearance. New legislation needs the same provisions.

But large-scale demolition of slums follows the solution of the present acute shortage of housing. The immediate problem is to avoid building future slums, in "fringe" developments that further strangle the cities, ruin fine country, are barren of essential services and are so poorly built that they cost more in repair bills than interest payments before a fraction of their mort-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gages are paid. Authorization for full-scale nation-wide planning of community development by local and federal authorities, voluntary groups and defense experts, and federal assistance for this type of development are needed in new legislation.

Better housing means adequate research by government, advice and guidance for local authorities, and active support by government for pioneers in new types of construction.

Provision for research and guidance in new legislation is largely a matter of obtaining adequate appropriations and of broadening the accepted concept of research to the unexplored social aspects of housing. Support for architects and builders engaged in pioneer work means the authorization of development contracts to provide government financing, where necessary, of experimental work.

The incentives to the low-cost housing proposed here are substantial. The assistance is still voluntary, and short of a collapse in the luxury-housing field, it would be inadequate to redirect the housing industry into the low-cost field where the need is greatest and the profits least. We cannot stake the future of American families on the collapse of the present industry. This program requires the reimposition of allocations and priorities over scarce housing materials.

With these powers, the right of Americans to decent shelter, if it is established this year, can be made a reality within ten years for all citizens. Meanwhile, as long as acute shortages continue, rent controls will be necessary. The extension of rent controls is needed, with additional authority given to the Housing Expediter to increase civil penalties for rent overcharges; to reimpose criminal penalties for rent violations; to recontrol forsaken areas and hotels; and to gain control to prevent evictions, which today come entirely under state and local jurisdiction.

EXTENDING SOCIAL SECURITY

EVERY MAN has the right to social security—to the assurance, that is, of protection against the economic hazards of old age, death and disaster by the provision of a decent income from a contributory social-insurance system.

That right is not assured by the federal government today—in coverage, in benefits, in eligibility, in financing, our present social-security system is inadequate.

A strengthened social-security program is a major objective of the 81st Congress.

Universal coverage for all who work is the first aim. Today, 40 million Americans are covered by the program; 30 million are unprotected. They include six million self-employed citizens in towns and cities; five million farmers; three and a half million farm workers; two and a half million domestic workers; a million nurses, janitors, teachers and others in non-profit institutions; all soldiers and sailors; four million workers in state and local governments, federal civil servants, and railroad workers with their own pension plans.

Those groups were excluded from the program because of administrative problems of collection, or existing pension plans, or barriers to federal taxation of state and local governments and non-profit institutions. Consequently, some workers moving from job to job have paid contributions and received no benefits; others have benefited without contributing; some states have carried disproportionate burdens while others have gained disproportionately; protected industries have gained at the expense of non-covered industries, which have lost needed manpower and have fallen behind in production.

The Senate Advisory Council on Social Security declares that "there are no immediate obstacles to the extension of coverage" of the groups listed above; it recommends the prompt extension of the program to these groups, with the exception of the railroad workers and federal civil servants, whose separate plans it proposes to merge, without loss of benefit, in the general scheme.

Adequate benefits is the second aim of social-security legislation. The present scale of benefits, fixed in 1939, provides average old-age-insurance payments of $39.90 a month to elderly couples. The 75-percent increase in the cost of living since 1939 has made these benefits inadequate for food bills alone. The proposed increase of 50 percent does not even restore the standards of 1937. A 100-percent increase seems clearly called for.

Inflation has further made the wage base of the social-security program obsolete. To restore the 1938 base in terms of purchasing power would require raising the highest income bracket that is subject to contributions and credited for benefits—$3,000—to more than $4,200.

A third weakness is the cumulative formula used for the payment of benefits. The present system discriminates against the middle-aged and elderly by holding present benefits 30 percent below those to be paid in 1980. The Advisory Council proposes to place benefits in closer relation to earnings and to pay the full rate of benefits today.

Adequate eligibility is the third objective of new legislation. Because of excessive restrictions based on "sound insurance principles," 11 years after the pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gram's inauguration only one in five Americans over 65 is insured or receives its benefits. Men and women who today are 65 must work in steady employment for six more years before they can qualify for social security. The Advisory Council recommends giving those who are 62 this year the same opportunity that Americans of the same age had in 1937; they could qualify after six quarter-years of coverage. It recommends further that women should qualify for payments at 60.

Adequate financing is the fourth objective of new legislation. The present tax of one percent of payrolls paid in contributions from workers and employers has been unchanged for 10 years. It compares to costs of at least three percent of payrolls, for the expanded system within six years. As benefits increase, and the numbers of Americans over 65 doubles, even a doubled contribution from workers and employers will be insufficient. To provide adequate benefits, and to give the social-security system a stabilizing effect on the economy, contributions of 1.5 percent from workers, employers and government are needed today. A government contribution to adequate social insurance is cheaper and wiser than government contributions to public assistance for helpless and humiliated citizens.

AIDING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

THE PROPER development and application of scientific research are major objectives of public policy.

Legislation to establish a National Science Foundation has been laid before every session of Congress since 1944. Each new bill has been less satisfactory than the one preceding. The Smith bill, passed by both Houses in 1947, proposed a science agency which would, in effect, have been privately controlled though publicly financed. It was justly vetoed by Truman.

Whether or not a National Science Foundation is set up, research must be assured of adequate, uninterrupted financial support, the major portion of which must be supplied by the government in the form of grants to federal agencies, universities and industry.

The present pattern of expenditures for scientific research and development is dangerously out of balance. It is inevitable that military research should continue, but since scientific applications in every field, military and non-military, rest upon foundations of fundamental knowledge, these must be systematically broadened and strengthened. Already defense efforts in aerodynamics, among others, are seriously hampered because of inadequate basic data. Fundamental research is best conducted in the universities. Yet today, the national research and development budget having increased 335 percent (since 1940) while the supply of trained manpower has expanded only 35 percent, at least 15,000 university instructors are needed merely to restore the prewar student-teacher ratio, which even at that time was considered wholly unsatisfactory.

A number of steps must be taken to reduce the manpower drag on the expansion of scientific programs in all areas. The federal government, through direct subventions to educational institutions, creation of new facilities and equipment, establishment of training and aid programs for graduate and undergraduate students, enlightened Selective Service policies, extension of veterans' programs, and similar help, must overcome this deficiency.

In medical research the national effort, federal and non-federal, is completely inadequate. Judging by expenditures, the health of the nation is a matter of less concern to its government than guided missiles or submarines. A substantial increase in national expenditures on medical research from $100 million to $300 million is recommended by the Steelman Report.

Unorganized science is disorganized science. Planning and coördination of research are indispensable to scientific advance. Neither is incompatible with scientific freedom. An integral part of the coördinating function is the frequent examination of all federal research programs, military and non-military.

Secrecy, compartmentalization, purges and persecutions in the name of security continue to hamper the national science effort. There is no justification for secrecy in basic research. All existing information controls require reëxamination and drastic revision. And not the smallest benefit from revoking the unworkable loyalty order would be that accruing to science.

PROVIDING BETTER SCHOOLS

EVERY MAN has the right to a decent education.

Instead: "Public school education in America has become a lottery," according to Oscar R. Ewing, the Federal Security Administrator. He adds: "If your child is lucky, you live in a community in which qualified teachers develop his aptitudes and talents and equip him to become a good provider and a good citizen. If he is unlucky he attends a school manned by incompetents, enters the world shabbily equipped, and, through no fault of his own, has less chance to make the most of himself."

Education is inadequate. Six million boys and girls under 19, who should be in school today, are not in school. This year, 1.5 million children will be deprived of education because of the teacher shortage;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and an additional 500,000 will have only part-time schooling because of the shortage of classrooms. Most children are subjected to assembly-line education, with 40 to 60 pupils in each class. These inadequacies are accumulating. The total enrollment in 1956 is expected to be four million greater than it was in 1948. But we are training only 20,000 teachers each year, instead of the 90,000 needed to keep pace with new enrollments.

Education is uneven. The best-financed public-school systems spend more than $6,000 a year per classroom unit; the worst, less than $100. Only thirty percent of white children but no more than seven percent of Negro children finish high school.

Education is unsatisfactory. School buildings are aging and unsanitary, with fewer than four percent constructed in the last ten years.

Teachers' salaries fell 20 percent in terms of purchasing power between 1939 and 1946; they declined from 10 percent above the average earnings of all employed persons in 1939 to nine percent less than the average in 1948. Last year, just 11,142 four-year college graduates—the only group which educational associations consider qualified—fulfilled the requirements for elementary teaching certificates. If present policies continue, then, according to Dr. Harold Clark of Teachers College, "disastrous educational and social conditions will prevail in a few years."

For this urgent problem there is no state by state solution. If Mississippi, lowest of all states in expenditures per child, abolished every function of government and devoted all its revenues to education, its public schools would still fall short of average standards.

For twenty years educators have insisted that the only solution is federal aid to education. It is not a new principle. It began with the Northwest Ordinance of 1785 and continued in the land grants and the appropriations to experiment stations and vocational-guidance centers. The present program of the Educational Finance Act, which passed the Senate only last year, distributes $300 million in federal funds to the states according to school population and total income. It guarantees continued state control of schools. It forbids states to use federal funds to reduce state appropriations. It places a floor of $50 under expenditures per child per year, and raises the average expenditure to $140.

No action was taken on this legislation. Since then costs have risen further, shortages have increased, and America has led in the adoption by the UN of a World Bill of Rights.

This year, a minimum program for federal aid to education would include these major provisions:

Federal aid of $50 million a year for increased medical-education facilities to help overcome the worst threat of all in higher education—an impending shortage of 50,000 doctors by 1960.

Federal aid of $500 million, to be advanced equally in grants and loans, and matched by equal state funds, for the construction of new schools.

Federal aid of $500 million for teachers' salaries and classroom expenditures, to be given to public elementary and secondary schools. It may be necessary this year to give these funds to states practising segregation. Discrimination should be forbidden. The legislation should create a watchdog committee with power to cut off aid to states using federal funds to advance discrimination. And there should be no question of compromising the fundamental principle of separation of Church and State by federal aid to parochial schools.

RAISING MINIMUM WAGES

EVERY MAN has the right to a decent living. For American workers, this means the establishment of fair labor standards, and the protection of these standards by an effective floor on wages which limits the threat of wage slashing in times of unemployment, and of the unfair competition of sweatshops at all times.

To enforce this right, Congress in 1938 placed a floor of 40 cents an hour under wages of workers in interstate commerce. It recognized that, to be effective, the minimum wage had to be kept in relation to the average wage rate. It proposed that the minimum wage be raised as average wages and productivity increased.

Average wages rose from 61 cents to $1.29 in the ten years after 1938. Seventy cents an hour was recognized as the effective minimum wage in wartime by the Wage Stabilization Board. Yet the minimum wage of 40 cents, which originated in the NRA codes of 1933 and barely covered the WPA emergency minimum budget in 1938, has been held unchanged. In terms of 1948 prices, it represents 20 cents an hour; $8 a week; $416 a year.

This onetime floor has sunk beneath the basement. The Wage and Hour Administration applied it to the lowest-paid industries in 1944. The Bureau of Labor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Statistics no longer records the few workers who slave for less than 40 cents an hour.

The Board does record that 1.8 million Americans earn less than 75 cents an hour. These workers, scattered across America, are largely in the lumber, tobacco, leather and textile industries. Their wages compare with the 87-cent minimum wage won by organized labor in Southern cotton and rayon plants; the $1.23 of the automobile industry; the $1.45 minimum of the West Coast wood and lumber workers; the $1.86 found to be necessary to maintain a "healthful and reasonable living" for a family of four, by the Heller Committee of the University of California.

These 1.8 million Americans are the most expensive workers in America. Their weakened bodies tax overburdened hospitals and community facilities. Their substandard wages are a constant incentive to inefficient, runaway employers to leave established communities stranded in search of sweatshop conditions.

Legislation to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act is a major objective of the 81st Congress. As introduced by Senator Elbert Thomas (D, Utah) and Representative John McCormack (D, Mass.), it has four purposes:

First, it raises the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour this year; and applies the procedure established by the original act which permits the Wage and Hour Administrator to raise the minimum to $1 an hour for industries where this is found to be feasible by committees representing employees, labor and the public.

Second, it broadens the coverage of the act to those among the 22 million workers now unprotected whose work *affects* interstate or foreign commerce.

Third, it abolishes the exploitation of child labor in industry and on farms with more than eight employees.

Fourth, it excludes from minimum wages the costs of food and lodging that serve to lower the wages of seamen, dining-car waiters and other workers.

The 75-cent minimum is not real progress. It simply restores the standards of 1938. Real protection of fair labor standards requires the early enactment of a $1-an-hour minimum wage.

★ A DYNAMIC AMERICA ★

EVERY MAN has the right to a job. That right was recognized by Congress in the Full Employment Act. It directs the government "to coördinate and utilize all its plans, functions and resources" to bring about and maintain maximum production and employment.

None of the measures proposed so far assures full employment for Americans.

Yet full acceptance or rejection of the concept that the maintenance of full employment at all times is the central objective of government policy is basic in every decision that faces Congress.

Denial of this responsibility in government logically means rejection of renewed price controls and allocations as temporary accommodations of a passing phase of postwar reconversion. It means continuing present regressive tax programs, so that industry is free to pour record profits into boom investments until the entire profit and investment structure collapses in depression. It means looking on the construction of hospitals, clinics, schools, public housing and hydroelectric dams as methods of alleviating depressions, and therefore delaying these projects until the depression strikes.

Acceptance of government responsibility for full employment means insistence on allocations and controls as the continuing means of implementing public policy in an economy in which available supplies of men and materials are always less than the recognized demand for goods and services. It means increased taxes on excess profits to replace the violent fluctuations of private investment which cause booms and depressions with a steady rate of private investment that industry can profitably sustain. It means prompt action to increase industrial capacity in order that there will be enough materials and factories to employ a working force that is increasing in size and productivity. It means immediate construction of river-valley developments and steel and light-metal plants.

To transform our fully employed economy into a full-employment economy means carrying out the intent of the Full Employment Act. It means that America will state her national production goals. It means that we determine, in a continuously developing program, the kind of balance between investment and consumption, and among wages, farm prices and profits, that is needed to attain our goals. It means, to the extent that is necessary to reach these goals, the supplementing of private investment by government action, in support of purchasing power and in public enterprise.

In a static America whose national income is allowed to fall $75 billion below present levels, debts become intolerable, and unemployment insurance and public-assistance projects become major objectives of policy. Such a democracy is without inspiration to its own citizens, or to other peoples.

In a dynamic America whose national income rises

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

steadily, development is stressed rather than security, maximum targets and not minimum standards are emphasized, reliance is placed on high standards of living and productivity. That is the kind of inspired democracy that Americans voted for. It demands the type of additional programs outlined here.

CONTROLLING INFLATION

INFLATION was the underlying issue of the 1948 campaign. It is still the most urgent issue of public policy for all Americans.

Grain prices are falling today, but the price of bread is unchanged. The housing boom is slowing down as the luxury market is glutted—but low-cost construction is not increasing. Every deflationary pressure in our national economy is more than balanced by new and more powerful inflationary pressures.

Freight rates have risen substantially. Steel prices are up 11 percent, an average of $9 a ton. These increases have not yet been passed on in higher prices, from steel users to consumers.

The Veterans' Administration is preparing to add $2 billion to purchasing power this summer, in payments on GI life-insurance policies. Further increases in purchasing power will follow wage increases and tax reductions already granted.

The $5 billion appropriated for military equipment last year and the $4.6 billion appropriated for ECA purchases have taken months to pass through preliminary stages of planning, authorization and letting of contracts; their impact on scarce labor materials and factories is just beginning to be felt.

Today one in four American families has exhausted its last savings and gone into debt; the real wages of millions of Americans are still falling; bankruptcies are increasing; the European Recovery Program is undermined by rising costs. At today's prices the government estimates that $3,100 a year will barely provide minimum necessities for an urban family of four: close to a third of American families earn less than $2,000.

To combat inflation, President Truman has called repeatedly for an excess-profits tax; controls on bank credit and consumer credit; the regulation of speculation; strengthened rent controls; and authority to institute allocations, rationing and price controls on key commodities.

Most of this program is still urgently needed.

Shortages of key materials are the most pressing problem. Layoffs are increasing in light industry: 40,000 workers are idle in the Pittsburgh area. Steel shortages are the principal reason: they have held down production of farm machinery and freight cars, oil-drilling machinery, automobiles, ore and oil-carrying boats and pipeline equipment. The reports of the Senate Small Business Committee are filled with stories of businessmen "being forced to the wall, exhausting liquid resources, closing plants—all for the lack of steel."

In aluminum, the unsatisfied demand was estimated by the government to be 30 to 40 percent greater than the available supply, even before authorization of the 70-group Air Force multiplied requirements.

Copper shortages, despite heavy imports, are estimated at at least 10 percent of available supplies. Lead shortages are even greater. In other strategic materials, because of inadequate stockpiling, we are worse off.

At present we are stumbling along on a voluntary allocations program offered by Senator Taft and Representative Wolcott as a substitute for government allocations. Under it, about 10 percent of steel supplies are offered by the industry to claimants under preferred programs. Steel users have been greatly dissatisfied with the voluntary-allocations system. European nations have been caught short. The government itself is in rebellion, with the Director of the Office of Defense Transportation accusing the Commerce Department of sabotaging needed freight-car requirements. Robert R. Young of the Chesapeake and Ohio has pointed out that 28,000 freight cars, needed to transport grain and fruit, have not been built because the steel industry favored automobile and truck production.

Authorizations and appropriations for programs which cannot be carried out are worse than useless. The low-cost-housing program has no chance of success unless allocations of scarce materials are enacted.

Steel and steel products, tin and tin products, nonferrous metals (including aluminum) and all building materials are the key commodities that must be subject to allocation by government and subject also to price control, since available materials at impossible prices are obviously not available. For other scarce items, as long as the ceiling on military expenditures is held, standby powers for price control, authorized by Congress, are sufficient.

EXPANDING PLANT CAPACITY

WE HAVE SET OUT to rearm this country and Europe; to underwrite world recovery; to enact a major welfare program for Americans and to provide a constant increase in our standard of living. These tasks are within our power if Americans are fully employed and if our capacity to produce is constantly increased. They are entirely beyond our power if our monopolistic basic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

industries prevent needed plant expansion and so bring about increasing shortages, growing unemployment and, finally, depression.

Key shortages have held down our national income by $30 billion a year since the war. High costs and lack of materials caused by inadequate capacity in basic industry are leading to widespread layoffs today. Power shortages are cutting fertilizer supplies to farmers to two-thirds of needed levels.

To break the key bottlenecks in industry this year requires different action in each case. More housing requires research into new materials and subsidies to increase output of scarce items such as nails and drainage pipes. More power and light metals mean hydroelectric development. Increased mineral production, according to Girard Davidson, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, means "greatly expanded exploration for new deposits . . . better geologic mapping . . . more metallurgical research, experimentation, testing and pilot-plant operation in order to make usable submarginal and unused raw materials."

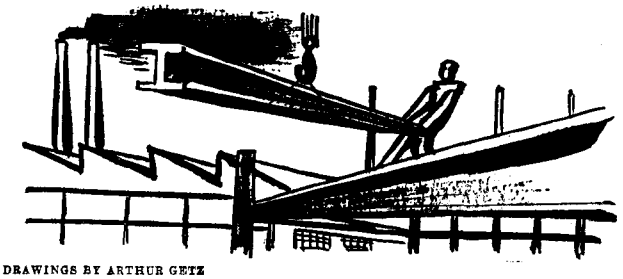
Above all, greater industrial production means more steel. The steel industry has worked out a new process in continuous casting that can yield more and cheaper steel from present capacity. And yet to avoid technological unemployment within the next 10 years, capacity must be raised by 30 million tons a year—more than double Britain's steel output.

Three years of inaction have demonstrated once and for all that in the steel industry record prices and unparalleled profits do not mean greater capacity. Fear of carrying charges of $15 a ton on unused capacity dominates the thinking of steel producers concerning the future.

It took government action to raise steel capacity 15 million tons in wartime. Today, by refusing to expand, in anticipation of depression, the industry is making depression unavoidable. Government action is again needed.

When goals of national output are determined, the steel-production target can be set and achieved. According to one proposal:

First the companies are asked how much basic steel capacity they will build within a two-year period.



DRAWINGS BY ARTHUR GETZ

Then these companies, and others, are asked how much basic capacity they will construct, given RFC loans at three percent for 90 percent of the total cost, with the provision that payments on these loans may be suspended if severe recessions occur.

Then the government will construct for lease, or government operation, pilot plants to provide the remaining capacity. The tax increment on increased national income alone makes pilot-plant operation by government well worth while.

CURBING MONOPOLIES

THE CONCENTRATION of economic power, which threatens freedom, has advanced more rapidly in the last three years than at any time since 1930. "If nothing is done to check the growth in concentration," the Federal Trade Commission recently declared, "the giant corporations will ultimately take over the country, or the government will be compelled to impose some form of direct regulation in the public interest . . . the theory of competition will have been relegated to the limbo of ineffective ideals."

This Administration is pledged to strengthen competitive enterprise by "an intensive enforcement of the anti-trust laws with adequate appropriations." Lack of funds, rather than lack of power, is certainly the cause of governmental inaction in the face of the greatest merger movement since the depression.

For three years, President Truman has urged adequate appropriations for enforcement of the anti-trust laws. His failure to obtain funds is due as much to his own Bureau of the Budget, which takes pride in reducing the budgets of programs voted by the electorate, as to the Republican Congress. The pittance requested by the Bureau was actually increased by Congress.

It remains pitifully low. The two enforcement agencies, the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, have been given skeleton staffs for anti-trust work. Neither agency has been able to maintain continuing studies of the national economy. Both staffs are spread thinly over current litigation and have little time to observe old court decrees or to protect the public from new conspiracies.

The enforcement program urgently needs a permanent organization devoting its time to study and investigation of the means of encouraging competition. But for lack of appropriations Section 6 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, providing for economic investigations, has become a dead letter.

By starvation, the anti-trust statutes are becoming token laws, and the decisive national policy of preserv-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing competition, reiterated by the major parties since the Sherman law was enacted in 1890, has never been achieved.

The minimum appropriation for anti-trust work should be at least three times this year's appropriation of $3,411,700.

Strengthening of the anti-trust laws is also needed.

Three major laws, the Webb-Pomerene Act, the Tydings-Miller Amendment and the Reed-Bulwinkle Act, promote the concentration of economic power. These laws, setting aside the protection of the Sherman Act, bestow the cloak of legality on price-fixing, allocation of markets and other monopolistic practices.

The Webb-Pomerene Act was intended to permit small concerns to join together for export trade operations, in order to match the power of European cartels. In practice, the Senate Small Business Committee found, it has encouraged worldwide cartellization, the growth of monopoly controls and the elimination of small concerns. The committee and the Department of Justice recommend repeal of the Act.

The Tydings-Miller Amendment to the Sherman Act legalizes resale price-maintenance laws on commodities sold in interstate commerce. It was sneaked through Congress in 1937 as a rider to a District of Columbia appropriations bill. It legalizes at wholesale and retail levels price-fixing practices which cost consumers millions of dollars each year in food and drug costs. It was denounced by President Roosevelt. Its repeal is urged by the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice.

The Reed-Bulwinkle bill was the greatest steal made legal by the 80th Congress.

"Transportation rates," as President Truman told Congress, "affect the cost of goods as they move through each phase of production—from raw materials, through finished products, to the consumers. Power to control transportation rates is the power to influence the competitive success or failure of other businesses."

This illegal power has always been sought after by the investment bankers who control the railroads. Their front has been the Association of American Railroads. When it placed final authority for the filing of Western rates with the Interstate Commerce Commission in a "committee of directors" meeting at 40 Wall Street, its working control was complete.

Its legality, however, was challenged by two suits filed in federal courts charging the Association and its affiliates with violating the Sherman Act. The state of Georgia charged the Association with freight discrimination against the South. The Department of Justice accused J. P. Morgan and Company, Kuhn Loeb and Company, and the Association with a monopolistic conspiracy to determine freight rates and to prevent the development of states west of the Mississippi.

When the Supreme Court gave support to these prosecutions by ruling that rate-fixing destroyed the "freedom of action" envisaged in the Interstate Commerce Act, the Association ran to Congress for protection. The Association prepared, and Congress passed, the Reed-Bulwinkle bill, designed to deprive the federal courts of their jurisdiction. The President vetoed the bill; Congress enacted it over his veto. It legalizes the elimination of competition from the vital transportation industry; it gives the power to set prices and to control the introduction of new equipment to a tight and reactionary monopoly.

Repeal of the Reed-Bulwinkle Act before its pattern of legalized monopoly is fastened on America is an urgent issue for the 81st Congress.

Positive action, pledged by this Administration, is also necessary to strengthen competition.

Penalties in civil proceedings are necessary to provide substantial fines for violation of the anti-trust laws and thus make violations a costly risk instead of a worthwhile gamble. This proposal, recommended by the Temporary National Economic Committee and the Senate Small Business Committee, has been strongly backed by Senator O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.).

Revision of the patent system is further urged by the Small Business Committee. It reports that patent privileges, enacted to "promote the progress of science and the useful arts," are now used to destroy competition, curb output, raise prices and discourage and suppress new inventions. The revisions proposed by the committee maintain incentives and eliminate the possibility of undue restrictive practices under sanction of law.

Discouragement of mergers by the purchase of assets by one corporation of a competing corporation, where the purpose is to lessen competition, is a third reform which has been pressed without success by the Federal Trade Commission for twenty years. It has been the loophole for mergers since the Clayton Act in 1914 prohibited the purchase by a corporation of a competing corporation's stock. Hearings have already been completed on this amendment to the Act.

In the continuing endeavor to protect small business, Congress has its own role. A Senate committee, created to investigate the causes of economic concentration, was diverted by Senator Capehart (R, Ind.) to an effort to restore the monopolistic basing-point system,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ruled illegal by the Supreme Court. The task before Congress is to redirect the committee to its original purpose and determine the extent to which our great monopolies will require direct regulation in the future.

DEVELOPING OUR RESOURCES

MORE PRODUCTION in America means more power, more fertilizer, more irrigation of dry land, waterways to ease the load on overburdened roads and railways, more flood control and prevention of loss by erosion. All these mean rapid, unified development of our major river valleys.

One project, in the Central Valley of California, does not call for prompt action by the federal government; four others require congressional action.

TVA. Twelve years of TVA operation have carried Tennessee Valley production far beyond the national rate of increase. The valley's gain in the use of electricity has been three times that for the nation as a whole.

The TVA asked the 80th Congress for appropriations of $4 million to start construction of a steam-power plant at New Johnsonville, on the lower Tennessee River. Under pressure of the utility lobby, Congress refused the request. The plant, whose total cost, including transmission lines, is $54 million, is urgently needed to stabilize the seasonal hydroelectric power provided by the Pickwick and Kentucky Dams, whose potential output is one-sixth of the TVA's power production. Without the steam plant, TVA engineers anticipate that the increased demand for electricity—50 percent in the next three years—will cause a power shortage in the valley. The steam plant, which takes three years to build, should be authorized promptly.

CVA. The Columbia Valley Authority will bring unified and effective planning to the inadequate conservation and resources development of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. Its need is urgent.

Of the first-grade timber of the Northwest, 20 percent remains. One acre in ten is lost for productive use each year. The CVA will provide proper reclamation and flood control; it will nearly triple the acreage of irrigated land in Oregon and Washington, making possible the settlement of 28,000 hundred-acre farms. And the CVA will fully develop a region with more than 40 percent of America's potential hydroelectric power, providing vital light-metals production and good living for three times the present population of the region. Two of its major component dams, Grand Coulee and Bonneville, are built. The integration and further development of the system requires congressional creation of the CVA.

MVA. For four years Congress has delayed the creation of the Missouri Valley Authority. In one of these years—1947—the regional conservator for Milwaukee estimated that in his region $500 million damage was caused by one flood. The same flood carried away topsoil from 25 percent of the farmland of Iowa and washed over 1.5 million acres in Missouri.

A totally inadequate program, the Pick-Sloan Plan, was rushed through by Army engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to forestall the creation of the MVA. Its navigation, flood-control and power projects were piecemeal, costly and minor in comparison with the potential benefits of unified development.

The MVA bill creates a representative public corporation to "establish and maintain a broad program of unified water control and resources development" covering the 10 states of the Missouri Basin. It instructs the corporation to submit a detailed plan for irrigation, navigation, flood control, power production, soil conservation, wild-life protection and low-cost fertilizer production within two years.

Passage of the bill is required to initiate planning rather than construction. It is estimated that the MVA can develop five million kilowatts of cheap power, supply water to perhaps six million acres for irrigation, and construct the greatest deep inland waterway in America.

The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. This is the oldest and longest delayed of all regional-development proposals. It creates under joint control of the United States and Canada a series of locks and dams along a stretch of 119 miles of the St. Lawrence River. It creates a waterway enabling ocean-going ships with drafts up to 27 feet to carry cargoes as far as Duluth—2,319 miles from the ocean. Thus it opens up the landlocked Middle West, benefiting all the states around the Great Lakes and greatly lowering shipping costs. Far larger than the TVA, it provides 2.2 million horsepower—cheap electricity for the high-cost, power-starved areas of New York and New England. Its total cost to America is $490 million; its savings to consumers, in electricity costs alone, are $26 million a year.

Every President for 25 years has demanded enactment of this project. Non-partisan support for it has developed from all regions. Vested interests of labor, industry and some states bordering on the Mississippi each time have killed it. Since it would so greatly increase our industrial capacity, its enactment this year would be a vital defense measure.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONSERVING OUR RESOURCES

THE CONSERVATION of America's incomparable but fast diminishing resources of wild life, minerals, water, land and forest has become a major objective of public policy. In particular, the tasks of national production which we have set require prompt and drastic action to save our land and timber.

There are 460 million acres of good crop land in America. Each year 500,000 acres are lost to us. Our rate of soil and fertility loss is greater than that of any region save South Africa. Erosion by wind and water takes 21 times as much plant food from the soil as is removed by crops.

At a time when an increasing population is pressing America below the safe minimum of three acres for each citizen, 50 million acres of our soil have been ruined; another 50 million seriously damaged; another 100 million robbed of critical topsoil. Indifference to conservation, and overexploitation by large, profit-hungry concerns have left eight million acres in the Dust Bowl "ready to blow."

Since the Soil Conservation Act was passed in 1935, three-fourths of our farms and two-thirds of our farmland have been brought within state and federal conservation programs. Inadequate funds have meant that in no more than 10 percent of our 2,000 conservation districts are conservation measures fully carried out. Two hundred thousand applications from farmers for planning aid are filed unserved in overburdened district offices. Five hundred thousand farmers have delayed making formal requests for aid at the request of district supervisors.

Only $42 million was appropriated for basic technical work last year. This year's appropriation is $46 million. Properly to map the soil, to provide adequate planning service and support for conservation practices, Hugh Bennett, head of the Soil Conservation Service, estimates that a 20-year program is needed, with appropriations of $350 million for the first five years, $400 million for the next five, and $375 million thereafter.

Our water supplies are also diminishing. The Department of Agriculture reports that instances of depleted supplies are increasing across America. Water levels in the earth are lowering from the Pacific Northwest to California, throughout the Southwest, on the Great Plains and eastward into the Allegheny and Blue Ridge flood areas. Salt water is seeping increasingly into municipal supplies in Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf Coast cities. At the same time vast water resources are wasted and terrible damage is caused each year by floods, making more urgent the regional development of major river barriers and adequate appropriations for flood control.

The grab for private exploitation of our mineral resources centers in the efforts of two of the most powerful lobbies in Washington to wrest from the government supervision of natural-gas consumption and ownership and control of the rich prize of 100 billion barrels of tidelands oil. Eighteen states, and hundreds of thousands of dollars in lobby expense accounts, are lined up behind the tidelands-oil grab. If by any chance these measures should pass Congress, a presidential veto must protect the public interest.

Our forests are in as great danger of depletion as our lands. At a time when housing is desperately short, we are allowing our timber supplies to be destroyed.

Only the national forests, established 50 years ago, are protected at all today. In these preserves, which range from the last stands of Douglas fir in the Pacific Northwest to the piney woods of the deep South, careful reseeding has overcome the worst depredations of fire and destructive cutting and grazing. By maintaining a policy of sustained yield on cutting permits, the timber cut of the national forests has been trebled in the last 10 years without damage. The contrast in privately owned forest lands is tragic. The Forest Service estimates that only eight percent of all timber cutting on private lands is satisfactory on a sustained-yield basis; 28 percent is fair; 64 percent is poor or destructive. Private forest lands as a whole are being rapidly destroyed. The national forests, which are only 16 percent of America's forest land, now contain 30 percent of our standing saw timber.

The pressure on the national forests has been intense. Timber merchants have pressed for greater cutting quotas. Stockmen have attempted to force unlimited grazing, although their blindness has so stripped the forests that areas which formerly sustained ten head of cattle or more now barely provide for a single cow. Under these pressures the 80th Congress sought to abandon the Olympic Peninsula and the Jackson Hole country. It cut off all funds for the protection of wild life. Today more than half of the range land in the forests and national parks is still deteriorating under excessive grazing. The authority of the federal government over its lands is far from complete.

Over private forest lands, the government has no authority. Its suggestions for sustained yield, reseeding and fire protection are largely ignored by loggers, pulp and paper companies and other get-rich-quick owners. It is powerless to force delinquent state authorities to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

take action. Its coöperative tree-distribution program, carried out with farmers and state and local authorities to provide wind and water breaks, is promising but very inadequate.

Adequate appropriations are the first great need. The pocketful of pennies doled out for the care of irreplaceable forest resources is without rhyme or reason. The sum of $4,670,839 is allotted for all research in diseases, new strains, reforestation and watershed control. Less than a million dollars is provided for flood control on public lands or to acquire new forest lands.

Vanport, Oregon, was overwhelmed by disaster last year when upland valleys, stripped of timber, washed down a flood that took 60 lives and left 60,000 homeless. The cost—$200 million in property damage in this small city—was three times the total net expenditures of the national Forest Service.

Greatly increased appropriations are needed for a rapidly accelerated program of purchase of forest land. Key watersheds and vital and irreplaceable timber stands cannot be left unprotected any longer. Federal legislation is further needed to give the Forest Service authority to enforce adequate fire protection, reseeding and sustained-yield cutting on private forest lands.

MAINTAINING FARM PROSPERITY

THE ADMINISTRATION'S agricultural policy has helped to raise farm income to record heights. Farmers voted in 1948 to continue this policy in all essentials, including the program of flexible price supports.

Price-support policy, intended to correct an imbalance and to protect farmers from violent fluctuations in income during trade cycles, is still necessary. Yet it has doubtful value in the full-employment economy toward which we are progressing. At a time when great grain-producing areas are recovering from war and reentering world markets, emphasis on price supports can delay the redirection of American agriculture and result in restrictions on production, subsidies to exports, barriers to imports, and the continued impoverishment of consumers by high food prices, instead of the integration of our agriculture into a permanent full-production effort and a world agricultural system.

Economic security for farmers is certainly the first objective of an agricultural policy which seeks to maximize food production. And until permanent full employment is assured by government action, farmers will insist on price supports. More flexible, longer-range supports for farm prices will certainly form an important part of farm policy this year, and will be supplemented by the restoration of the storage facilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation, so that farmers are not compelled to sell their produce at less than parity prices for lack of storage space.

At the same time, long-range farm policy should shift the emphasis from support of prices to assurance of farm income. Just as expansion of industrial capacity requires the formulation of industrial production goals and their achievement, if necessary, by government support to purchasing power, so farm-production goals should be set well ahead, and farm income assured by government action, by direct payment, or by support of consumption, rather than by price support. These methods will permit greater flexibility in food production in response to changing market requirements.

Balanced farm production is a second objective of farm policy. It requires world planning on the international wheat, sugar and wool agreements to determine the long-range export demand for American farm products. It calls also for the development of major programs to improve the diet of Americans. The extension of the school-lunch program from one in four children to all children in public schools is the first method; a second is the revival of the food-allotment program to provide a minimum diet for low-income groups.

Efficient food distribution is a third method of raising farm income. It means new authority to prevent price fluctuations and excessive distributing costs caused by speculation on the commodity exchanges. It means also direct assistance by the government in the research and development of more efficient marketing and distribution systems.

Lower farm overheads is a further means of raising farm income without increasing food prices.

One way is to maintain cheap credit, through the extension of the coöperative farm-credit system, as protection for farmers against a return of high interest rates, and the provision of adequate governmental credit for farmers who cannot obtain satisfactory terms from private sources.

A second way is to accelerate the rural-electrification program. More than one farm in every three is still without electric power.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A third way is to protect the tax statutes of farm and consumer co-ops and to encourage coöperative credit systems by federal charters freeing them from restrictive state laws.

Support of family-sized farms, in addition to rural electrification, cheap credit and encouragement to co-operatives, requires an expanded farm-security program to promote loans and technical assistance to small farmers to improve their land. It requires encouragement by the government of the spread of small industries in rural areas and the extension of service industries for farmers, to prevent the headlong flight to overpopulated cities by families who want to leave submarginal land.

A fuller farm life means far more than the advance of economic well-being for farmers. Most farm families live in old houses, on unimproved roads, far from the hospitals, clinics and libraries that are public services for city dwellers. Two in every three farm children go to inadequate schools. Two in every three farm homes lack telephones. This year, government-supported programs for social security, better housing, medical care and education are the principal means of winning "parity of living standards" for farmers.

★ A SECURE AMERICA ★

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY to win security for Americans, according to the President's Air Policy Commission: the elimination of war from all the world.

To formulate a world policy for the elimination of war is the task of the Administration. We have no central policy today. We are promoting democracy in some regions, sponsoring dictatorship in others. We have declared political warfare on one country and its doctrine. Yet in our major enterprise, the Marshall Plan, "our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine," in Marshall's words, "but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos."

The time has come for joint action of the Administration and Congress for a unified program of world leadership.

Economic leadership. Here the principal task is to fill our commitment to ECA. Congress appropriated $5.3 billion for ECA, for the 12 months from April 1, 1948, to April 1, 1949. It must appropriate $1.25 billion for the last quarter, from April to June, and perhaps $4.6 billion for the following 12 months.

There are weaknesses in the ECA program, but they are not legislative weaknesses. In the light of the uncertain conditions of Europe, the Act was consciously drawn so as to give the broadest possible discretionary powers to the Administrator. It has worked well. In some cases the Administrator has applied his discretion in the wrong ways. One danger has been the halting of the dismantling of German factories. Another has been the insistence on the upper limit of loans extracted from Allied nations, in place of grants to them, even though the loans cannot be accepted in good faith or ever repaid. But these are matters for the congressional watchdog committee and not for amendments in the ECA legislation. Once the legislation is open to amendment, months may be lost, and the most dangerous pressures successfully applied, as in the case of Franco's powerful supporters and the shipping lobby.

The legislation should be simply reënacted, with no more than the single clause on its effective date of operation extended by amendment. For the program is desperately needed still. It represents 40 percent of Italy's needed imports. It represents the difference between subsistence and starvation in Britain. It represents 70 percent of the cotton supplies for France's textile industry. An interruption in ECA would lower the French bread ration to 100 grams a day.

The 16 nations have just begun joint long-range planning for Western Europe. If the program continues well, the next three years will witness the emergence of combined economic planning, leading to a political federation of Europe which can be a major contribution to peace.

Three further measures are required in economic leadership. The first is the extension for the usual three-year period of the reciprocal-trade program, which Congress limited to one year in the expectation of reversing our entire liberal trade policy in 1949. A second measure is ratification of the International Trade Organization, created under a United Nations resolution and established after exhaustive negotiations, to promote world trade by stabilizing international payments, protecting labor standards and coördinating efforts to maintain full employment. A third measure is enactment of the international wheat agreement which assured America's farmers of a stable price for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

185 million bushels of wheat a year for five years.

Military leadership. Just as American economic supplies are needed to underwrite the economic self-help of the European democracies, military supplies and guarantees are needed to underwrite their program of joint defense. The Brussels pact which joined Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg "to preserve the principles of democracy, personal freedom and political liberty" has led to combined military planning for defense, and is leading to unified armed forces of these nations. The United States, Canada, Norway, Denmark, Greenland, Iceland, Newfoundland and Portugal are now asked to join with them in an alliance of mutual protection. It cannot have aggressive purposes: the notion of aggressive war, waged by the devastated nations of Europe, is inconceivable. America's contribution to the alliance is a commitment for joint defense and the advance of perhaps $2 billion of surplus Army equipment.

Moral leadership requires that Congress repeal the "anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic" displaced-persons bill and enact a new bill. It would include:

Revision of the cut-off date, which in the present law defines a DP as a person who was in a camp before December 22, 1945. This date eliminates most Jewish DP's and many Poles, Czechs and others. The suggested date is April 21, 1947, when the camps in Germany were closed.

Elimination of these further clauses:

The clause which allots 40 percent of all quotas to refugees from the Baltic states.

The clause which requires that 30 percent of all visas be issued to DP's with farm backgrounds.

The clause which reclassifies non-Germans of Germanic origin as *Volksdeutsch.*

The clause which requires each DP to have an assured home and a job.

The clause which mortgages up to 50 percent of a nation's future immigration quotas against the DP's.

A proper bill, free of these discriminations, will admit 400,000 DP's in four years, in place of the 205,000 in two years permitted under the present law.

Political leadership is needed in a new declaration of America's world policy which will give to all our actions a central and noble purpose.

The concept of One World is for the present discarded. But clinging to its memory, we have been reluctant to advance the new, more positive concept of World Democracy. To affirm that democracy is the only basis of world unity, to strive for world unity by promoting democracy—and only democracy—everywhere, is the way to create the foundation on which one world society can be built.

In a joint declaration with the executive, Congress should commit America to these principles:

The determination that America and Russia can and must resolve their conflicts without war.

The determination that the active promotion of democracy, the world over, is the way to resolve present conflicts.

The determination that until the United Nations can be strengthened by unanimous consent, the unification of the democracies shall be pressed forward.

The determination that the United Nations shall be strengthened until it possesses under law the power to prohibit war.

★ A SOLVENT AMERICA ★

THE PURPOSE of fiscal policy is to maintain national solvency at levels of full employment. It means maintaining purchasing power in the hands of consumers while paying the bills of government.

For the present fiscal year, the President originally proposed to budget for $39.6 billion in federal expenditures and to raise $44.4 billion in income. In the course of 1948, expenditures were increased $2.6 billion, while Congress deprived the government of $4 billion, transforming a large surplus into a deficit.

For the next fiscal year, expenditures are certain to rise. The minimum proposed military budget is $4 billion above the revised budget of fiscal 1949. The $2 billion projected for military lend-lease may increase our net foreign commitments. Appropriations for national resources, and particularly for atomic energy, will rise. Price supports for agriculture will be greater. Service on the national debt will increase. The minimum welfare program now considered by the government will increase net expenditures by $500 million, with $300 million spent on aid to education, $150 million for the health program and $50 million from the national budget for subsidies on low-cost housing. These increases raise expenditures to $45 billion.

The minimum program which to us seems necessary raises federal expenditures considerably above this sum.

In times such as these a federal surplus is desirable to ease inflationary pressures. A federal deficit would be an act of delinquency. To raise projected federal income to the $45 billion level now foreseen by the gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment is clearly insufficient. It would mean placing an adequate welfare program second to high profits and the wealth of a fraction of Americans. It would mean leaving no reserves for unforeseen expenditures despite the famine that still threatens the world, the political instability in all countries and the military conflicts that are raging or are threatened. Only blindness or good luck may prevent supplementary appropriations in the next 12 months greater than the $3 billion added in 1948.

Fifty billion dollars seems to us to be the minimum federal income needed for safety. It can well be done.

Obviously the main source of increased income is corporate taxation. Higher corporate taxes are needed simply to restore the present imbalance in our economy. For when government expenditures were halved after the war, wartime tax rates on incomes and on small businesses were retained while large corporations, whose capital reserves had trebled in wartime, were given immediate aid in tax reduction. As a result, with profits at an all-time peak, corporations are contributing proportionately less than in any year since 1940.

In the interest of a stable economy, net corporate profits should be reduced from present levels of $20 billion a year to the $13 billion earned in the very prosperous year of 1940.

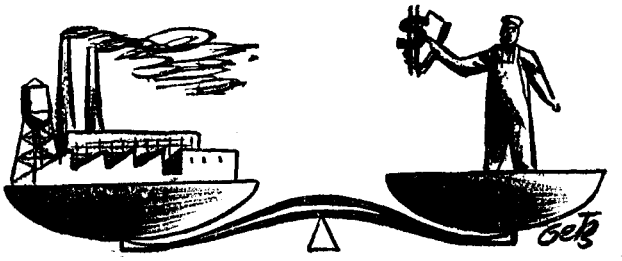
One method is to increase the corporate tax rate. It applies equally to corporations with high or low profits and serves no purpose other than revenue.

A second method is reënactment of a tax on undistributed profits. This tax serves to make available more liquid capital to small enterprise and places a brake on the concentration of economic power by the expansion of a few highly profitable corporations.

A third method is reënactment of the excess-profits tax. It has a moral justification. It discourages new price increases and so is a major aid in combating inflation. Revenue can be earned by a high rate on a high profit base, or a lower rate on a lower base of normal profits. The second method seems to us more equitable. Since there is no "normal year" in recent experience, the best way is to tax one-half of excess profits over 130 percent of the 1936-39 base. The resulting yield would be more than $4 billion.

Beyond this, the worst abuses of the present tax program can be eliminated by these reforms:

Mandatory joint returns. The community-property provisions of the present bill permit wealthier couples to enter lower-income brackets by dividing their income. Its stated intention was to comply with the practices of certain states. Its real purpose was to set a ceiling on income taxes on higher brackets, by making further increases confiscatory for wealthy bachelors. Repeal of this provision may be difficult in this session, but such action would bring in about $500 million.



Integration of estate and gift taxes. The present system provides dual exemptions, with lower rates on gifts. So it incites evasion of estate taxes by gifts made in contemplation of death.

Lowered exemptions on estate and gift taxes. One in every hundred Americans files estate taxes. One in every ten British citizens pays these taxes. Present exemptions make it possible to pass on large estates, and unlimited gifts of up to $3,000, without payment of taxes. Lowered exemptions and the limitation of tax-exempt gifts to family members and dependents are obvious reforms.

The benefit of all these measures will be about $1 billion each year.

Elimination of tax-exempt securities. This is a long overdue reform, delayed in wartime, which will yield about $150 million a year. *Increased capital-gains taxes* can provide the same yield.

These reforms will more than meet the $50 billion that we need. If tax relief is possible, it must go to low-income groups. Families with incomes of less than $5,000, which form the solid base of purchasing power, paid one-tenth of individual income taxes in 1939. This year they are paying one-half—100 times more money. The purpose of exemptions—to protect minimum standards of living—has been undermined by pressing the lower limit of individual exemptions for families of four $1,500 below the income estimated as a required minimum by the Heller Committee. Excise taxes, levied on "luxuries" in wartime, are still continued, although one-quarter of their revenue is drawn from increased prices on cigarettes, telephones, gasoline, cosmetics and movies.

To abolish these taxes and to free 20 million families with earnings of less than $5,000 from income tax would cost America $7.8 billion today. It would increase our economic stability. It remains an urgent objective in a peaceful world. In such a world, the combination of great self-liquidating government projects and the necessary expenditures financed by progressive taxes can keep America solvent and Americans employed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bargain! Save Money on Your Subscriptions

New Republic

with Harper's Magazine $8.50

You save $2.50

One-year subscriptions which may be mailed to different persons and addresses. Your own subscription may be included. Canadian Postage $1.00 extra. Foreign postage $2.00. Payment must be sent with combination orders.

•

New Republic alone:

One year for $6

Two years $10

Subscriptions may be new or renewal. Canadian and Foreign Postage $1.00 per year extra. Payment may be postponed 30 days.

New Republic
40 East 49th Street • New York 17, N. Y.

Please enter this magazine subscription order.

☐ I enclose payment in full, $_____
OR ☐ I will pay in 30 days.

Magazines_____

My Name_____

Address_____

_____

1/10/49

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED